

Charles University
Faculty of Science

Study programme: Geography
Branch of study: Global migration and development studies



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Transnational links, integration, and influence of Ethiopian diaspora on Ethiopian
development

Transnacionální vazby, integrace a vliv etiopské diaspory na rozvoj Etiopie

Diploma thesis

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Prague, 2020

Univerzita Karlova

Přírodovědecká fakulta

Studijní program: Geografie

Studijní obor: Globální migrační a rozvojová studia



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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to examine the perceived influence of Ethiopians abroad on home country development and recent political transformation, while confronting the views of Ethiopians staying abroad (referred to as diasporas) with the comparable groups of those residing in Ethiopia. In addition, it also explores the transnational links and migration and integration experiences of Ethiopians living abroad and migration intentions of the subsample of respondents residing in Ethiopia. The research draws on a web-based questionnaire survey among 137 respondents. The respondents were identified purposely through the author's social networks, with the sample constructed to consist of two subgroups in terms of respondents from Ethiopia staying abroad in western countries (N = 75) and those residing in Ethiopia (N = 62). The research showed that despite general willingness, there is relatively low participation of diaspora in official activities contributing to economic development in Ethiopia, though the majority of respondents provide financial as well as in-kind and social remittance to their families. It identified the high perceived influence of diaspora on the recent political transformation as well as ongoing ethnic mobilisations (including ethnic tensions in Ethiopia). Among other findings, the research also indicated that the diaspora respondents feel well integrated in the host countries, keep transnational links with their home countries (though their intensity decreases with the time spent in host country), and tend to identify themselves based on their both national (Ethiopian) and ethnic identity.

Keywords: Ethiopia, development, diaspora, migration, remittances, transnationalism

ABSTRAKT

Tato práce si klade za cíl prozkoumat vliv Etiopanů žijících v zahraničí na rozvoj jejich domovské země, jejich vliv na nedávné politické změny a zároveň konfrontovat názory Etiopanů v zahraničí (dále označováni jako diaspora) s podobnou skupinou respondentů žijících trvale v Etiopii. Kromě toho také zkoumá transnacionální vazby a migrační a integrační zkušenosti Etiopanů v zahraničí a migrační plány vzorku respondentů žijících v Etiopii. Výzkum je založen na internetovém dotazníkovém šetření mezi 137 respondenty, kteří byli identifikováni prostřednictvím autorčiny sociální sítě (tzn. záměrný výběr). Vzorek respondentů byl složen z těch, kteří žijí v zahraničí v Západních zemích (N = 75) a těch, kteří žijí v Etiopii. (N=62). Výzkum ukázal, že navzdory uváděné ochotě podílet se na rozvoji domovské země, je účast diaspory na oficiálních aktivitách přispívajících k ekonomickému rozvoji Etiopie poměrně malá, byť větší část respondentů potvrdila poskytování remitencí svým rodinám v Etiopii (finančních, hmotných i sociálních). Identifikován byl významný vnímaný vliv diaspory na probíhající politickou transformaci země i etnickou mobilizaci (včetně etnických tenzí). Vedle dalších poznatků výzkum také naznačil, že respondenti žijící v zahraničí se cítí být dobře integrováni, udržují transnacionální vazby na domovskou zemi (byť se jejich intenzita snižuje s dobou strávenou v zahraničí) a identifikují se jak na základě národní (etiopské), tak své etnické identity.

Klíčová slova: Etiopie, rozvoj, diaspora, migrace, remittance, transnacionalismus

Declaration

I declare that I have prepared this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

Prague,

Hirut Assefa Gebrekidan

Student signature

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Acknowledgements

A special thanks to my supervisor Doc. Josef Novotný, Ph.D. for his substantial advice and guidance. Without his patience I might not have been completed this thesis. I also would like to thank all my friends Dr. Abebe Kebede, Wubalem Berta, Melat Fesseha, Ermiase Fekadu, Hanna Aychiluhim, Meron Taddese, Selamawit Taffese, Biruk Kebede, and Liya Worku for their kind support. I am grateful for all the respondents who were participated in this survey for sharing their thoughts and for their time. My gratitude goes to my husband and his families for their assistant and encouragement. Thank you all!

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List of abbreviations

EPRDF	The Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
SNNPR	Southern Nations Nationalities and People
TPLF	Tigray People Liberation Front
IOM	International Organization for Migration
EDTF	Ethiopian Diaspora Trust Fund
ESAT	Ethiopian Satellite Television
OMN	Oromo Media Network

1. INTRODUCTION

There has been an increasing research interest in the role of diasporas in the processes of development and policy-making of their home countries. There are also increasing attempts to stimulate the potential positive contribution of diasporas by policy instruments. Financial remittances that diaspora send to their families in their home countries can be helpful as a source of income and the diversification of livelihoods. Migration abroad can influence human capital in their home countries and facilitate the transfers of their skill and knowledge. Diasporas can also play a significant role through lobbying and advocacy in the home country politics, despite living in foreign countries. These impacts and transnational links have intensified due to the globalization, improvement of communication and transportation technologies.

This thesis focuses on the role of Ethiopian diaspora and migration of Ethiopians abroad. These topics have been increasingly discussed in relation to the transformation of Ethiopia ongoing since the beginning of 2018. There are two main directions of these discussions. The first of these directions is related to the important change in the official government position towards Ethiopian diaspora. As a part of the transformation, it has become considerably more open and proactive with respect to the potential diaspora contribution to the socioeconomic development of Ethiopia through harnessing investments and remittances. The second direction of the discussions is less explicit but no less important and it concerns the impact of Ethiopians abroad on politics and security in the country. It is linked to the ethnic federalism as a major aspect of Ethiopian governance and to increasing ethnic tensions in the country, also related to the reshuffling the power during the transformation.

This diploma thesis provides an empirical case study that analyses selected issues around migration from Ethiopia and around the role of Ethiopian diaspora. The primary data used in this study was obtained between December 2018 and January 2019 using a web-based questionnaire survey drawing on a purposive sample of the respondents identified through the author's social networks (N = 137). The sample consists of Ethiopian citizens of which one half (55%) represent diaspora living abroad and the rest stayed in Ethiopia. The reasoning behind this sampling was to obtain the roughly comparable groups of respondents in order to confront their opinions on the research topics.

The study has the following two sets of objectives:

- Examine the perceived influence of respondents on the Ethiopian economic development and recent political transformation, while also confronting the views of Ethiopians staying abroad with the sub-sample of those residing in Ethiopia.
- Explore the transnational links, migration and integration experiences, and identity perceptions of Ethiopians living abroad and migration intentions of the subsample of respondents residing in Ethiopia. In addition, the thesis also uses various secondary information in an effort to understand the impacts of diaspora in broader context.

This thesis is organized into six chapters. Chapter 2 overviews core concepts and terms analysed in this thesis. Chapter 3 describes the Ethiopian context. Chapter 4 describes data and methods used in own empirical research. Chapter 5 presents results of the empirical research. Chapters 6 provide the discussion and conclusion of findings.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Diaspora and transnationalism

Diaspora and transnationalism are the two key and deeply interrelated concepts in the global migration studies (Brettel 2006). The former originates from the Greek word *διασπορά* meaning “scattering of seeds” (Anthias 1998, pp. 559). This word is used for the first time around 200 BC, implying Jewish exile over the globe and then it was used to refer to Armenian and Greeks who were fleeing from their homeland to Europe because of the expansion of Ottoman empire (Dufoix 2016).

Historically, the word diaspora is mainly interconnected with trauma and refers to the involuntary scattering of Jewish people in different parts of the world due to vanquishing of their territory which was considered to be their ancestral land (ibid). Diaspora, then applied to other communities or ethnic groups, sharing common experience of being victimhood like Jewish diasporas. Based on this assumption scholars also listed certain criteria to define diaspora. For example according to (Safran 1991, pp.83) there are six characteristics that diaspora must fulfilled; they or their ancestors have been dispersed from a specific origin “center” to two or more “peripheral” or foreign regions, they retain a collective memory, vision or myth about original homeland, they believe that they should,

collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity, they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship, they believe that they are not and perhaps cannot be fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it and they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return, when conditions are appropriate. It should be mentioned that the Safran's criteria has been formulated in reference with Jewish diasporas and they may not be fully adequate for other emigrant communities.

Later on, the usage and criteria to define the term diaspora started to be argumentative, complex and changing over time especially since the late 1960s. The term diaspora is used not only for traditional diasporas but also for other communities such as „expatriate, ethnic minority or migrant communities” (Ropero 2003, pp. 10). In general, there are two ways of formation of diaspora – a forced way, which was caused by some catastrophic and traumatic events and a voluntary way, when the decision of migration depends on the individual's willingness without any external pressure. Due to difficulties to differentiate diasporas from other groups of communities' scholars in recent years avoid defining the term diaspora. For example, (Brubaker (2005), cited in Baritram et.al. 2014, pp. 51) argues that diaspora should refer “instead to a category of practice in which people make claim, form projects, mobilize for those projects, and appeal to loyalties to advance those claim or projects”. In his definition diaspora is not simply about the dispersal of population from its origins or even the maintenance of a collective identity. According to Brubaker diaspora is much more like a stance, idiom or practice that people adopt their claim and projects with regard to their homeland and community of origin.

For example, some typological models of diaspora have been distinguished such as that by Dufoix who identified four ideal types that structure the experience of diasporas (Dufoix 2008 cited in Baritram et.al. 2014, pp. 51):

- 1) Centroperipheral mode; he describes this mode as a national group in host country closely linked with the group “home country” through official institutions such as cultural centers, embassies as well as the voluntary associations of the overseas groups. Due to these institutions a certain group of people in host countries who are organized

based on their nationality, ethnicity, religion, professional etc gain recognition for instance from the government of home country.

- 2) Enclaved mode; Dufoix quoted that this type of mode refers to local organization of community within a host country such as those often found in urban neighbourhoods. He highlighted that here the shared identity is more important than nationality. In other word, communities within a host country make association based on for example common religion in which a group of emigrants have a common belief.
- 3) Atopic mode; it is a mode of affair between states, thanks to transportation technologies people can circulate between two countries (host country and countries of origin). Here there is no limitation of boundaries, emigrant can maintain two identities at the same time.
- 4) Antagonistic; Dufoix refers this mode as an “axile polity” in which political space formed by groups who mobilize in opposition to the current regime of their country of origin. This groups or communities mostly claiming the political affairs politics of home country (e.g. Kurds in Germany).

Lastly, Sheffer provides another example of the diaspora definition as an “ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin, their homelands” (Sheffer 1986: 3 cited in Shuval 2000, pp. 43). Although it should be noted that in this diploma thesis, I use the term diaspora in a broad sense, referring generally to out-migrants living outside their home country. I nevertheless acknowledge that there are some specific meanings and operationalisations of this concept.

Transnationalism is quite a new term which is used by various scholars (Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004; Clavin 2005; Duff 2015) to describe migrant linkage crossing over nation-state borders. In both cases (diaspora and transnationalism) the terms emphasize migrant connections between home country and host country and these two concepts are sometimes used interchangeably. Some authors (e.g. Bauböck and Faist 2010) nevertheless distinguish differences between diaspora and transnationalism. With the former they denote groups defined on the basis of common religion or ethnic groups living outside an (imagined) homeland whereas they refer to the later (transnationalism) in relation to migrants’ durable ties across countries (narrowly) and to capture not only communities but all sorts of social formations, such as transnationally active networks, groups and organisations (widely). They also highlight that the term ‘diaspora’ always refers to a

community or group and has been used in history and literary studies while concepts such as transnationalism refer to processes that transcend international borders and therefore appear to describe more abstract phenomena in a social science language.

Wahlbeck define „transnationalism as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, these processes is called transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders” (Basch et al. 1994: 7 cited in Wahlbeck 2002, PP. 223).

2.2 The role of diaspora’s human capital

Diaspora human capital consists of the knowledge and skill that diasporas acquired in host country or prior to their migration. The means of obtaining knowledge can be through education, training or work experience. The diaspora’s human capital can be valuable resource for the development of their homeland through transferring their knowledge and skills. However, diaspora (out migration) can also mean the loss of skilled labour for the country of origin, which is usually called brain drain, which can have negative impacts on the countries of origin (Cañibano and Woolley 2015). Therefore, with respect to both positive and negative effects of diaspora to the development of home country through human capital, the focus on highly skilled migrants becomes particularly important.

The impact of highly skilled migration including international student from homeland and their permanent stay in receiving countries is debated topic. Various scholars (e.g. Frédéric 2006; Johnson 2009; Zweig and Changeui 2013; Joel et al. 2018; Chand 2018) investigated the negative impact of highly skilled migration especially for homeland. However, the above literatures show that the negative impact varies among different regions in the world. According to Aluttis et al. (2014) Zambia with a population of almost 12 million people had only 646 doctors and 6,096 nurses. They attributed this problem to migration with an illustrative observation that between 1998 and 2003, 461 Zambian nurses were recruited to the United Kingdom. The loss of doctors and nurse can affect the country. Here I argue that due to lack of skilled labour in Africa, the loss of financial expense to train these skilled labour, the risk of brain waste in the receiving countries, not returning of African students from the global North and the absence of policies to harness their skilled

diaspora for their countries of origin makes the consequence of brain drain to be more serious, especially in this continent.

On the contrary, the engagement of highly skilled diasporas in their countries of origin can encourage the development of home country and reverse the idea of “brain drain” into “brain gain” (Rahman 2013 p.128). The involvement of highly skilled diasporas in science, research, education, technology etc. can be engine for the improvement of these sectors in home country. In other word, the migration of highly skilled migrants doesn't necessarily cause negative impact rather can encourage for the betterment of home country (ibid).

In the past years evidence shows that among highly skilled migrant source countries, China and India benefited from their respective expatriates from the overseas (Sabel and Kuznetsov 2006). Through their inclusive diaspora policies these countries recognizing the positive impact of their skilled diaspora human capital. Since 1990 China allowed Chinese international students to attend their higher education in western countries (Saxenian 2002). At the same time policy makers in China designing how to tap these students as well as other highly skilled Chinese diasporas for the development of China. According to (Jonkers and Tussen 2008) the faculty of China's leading research organizations in Beijing and Shanghai formed for around 70% by researchers with research experience in North America, Western Europe, or Japan. Similar study by (Welch and Jie 2013) shows that the returnees of Chinese highly skilled diasporas from overseas into China played important role in research and development by participation in innovation programs especially in Chinese higher education. Introduction of various options to outsource Chinese expatriate from abroad including promotion of short-term visit increase the participation of Chinese diasporas in Universities, innovation and research centers in home country (ibid).

Because of electronic technologies diasporas from overseas train or provide online courses and sharing practices by using video conferences and telephone while living abroad (ibid). Beside that the Chinese diaspora also played a significant role to improve the competitiveness of China in global market in relation with advancement in science, research and engineering technologies. An empirical study by (Fengmeng 2016) shows that scientific Chinese diasporas contribute for the rapid achievement of science development in China. Similarly, Indian skilled diasporas from the overseas contribute for the development of their countries of origin especially in relation with improvement of information technologies, engineering, health care and science in India (Chanda and Sreenivasan 2006). According to

(Kathuria 2015), In 2000, 10 of the 20 most successful software companies in India were managed by former Indian residents in the US.

Furthermore, a case study by Nevinskaitė (2016) shows that in 2011 Lithuania government established program called the Global Lithuania Programme. Due to this initiative Lithuanian professionals from abroad contribute to the improvement of state institutions in home country through working on particular inter-ministerial problems, such as upgrading conditions for companies through advice. Similarly, after 2011 revolution in Tunisia, the returnee of highly skilled Tunisian diasporas from abroad has played significant role to transfer technology to their countries of origin (Samet 2014). Skilled diaspora groups by using social network can be established to contribute for homeland. For example, the network of Colombian expatriate diaspora association called “Red Caldas” has also played a vital role to improve science and technology in Colombia (Kuznetsov 2006). Chanda and Sreenivasan (2006) argue that beside tangible contribution of skilled diasporas they also contribute other intangible benefits including knowledge of quality processes, better ethics and attitudes towards work, greater professionalism and transparency, better management practices, and familiarity with the latest technology.

2.3 Impact of diaspora on home country politics and institutions

Recently there is an increasing interest in whether and how diasporas impact both home and host country politics. Diaspora can be vital asset for a democratic state building and advocacy of human rights in countries of origin. This may happen for example through lobbying and by participating in home country election process, encouraging the establishing of opposition parties and civic association through financial or intellectual contributions, increasing awareness about democracy, human rights and rule of law through establishing independent mass media or by using social media. A study by (Adamson 2016) shows that diaspora associations from Cuba, Ireland and Poland in the North America participated in US politics, lobbying on behalf of their respective countries of origin. At the same time, diasporas can invest their resources to enhance democracy in their home country. It may be, for example, facilitated by campaign for elections by financial support. Case study from Malaysia (Low 2017) shows that Malaysian diasporas for 13th election has played a significant role through sponsoring the flights of other Malaysians advocating for free and fair election in home country. The same study also reveals that their support for

electoral campaign has impact to reform landscape of the politics of Malaysia through encouraging the participation of opposition groups. Similarly, Chauvet and Mercier (2014) show that the returnee of Malian diaspora to their countries of origin transfer political norms in Mali which includes for example accountability and transparency especially during election.

Beside the above contributions, diaspora also can have positive impact and stabilize conflict areas especially in countries where there is civil war, political instability, and violence through participation in peace-building process and with peaceful negotiation with home country governments. For example, the contribution of Liberian diaspora project in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia has significant impact on stabilizing the country and building peace in Liberia (Young and Park 2009). Due to their transnational experience, diasporas can also strengthen diplomatic bilateral relationships between host country and home country that may benefit both countries.

On the other hand, diaspora can affect the politics of home country through assisting rebel groups which may destabilise situation in home country. A notable example here might be the impact of the “Oromo” separatist diaspora (the largest ethnic groups in Ethiopia) efforts to create independent Oromo state by providing financial support and collaborating with the political organization in Ethiopia called the Oromo Liberation Front (Sorenson 1996). Similarly, in the past years ethnic based diaspora groups in Ethiopia has played significant role to provoke ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia. Studies (Worku 2017 and Thompson 2018) suggested that for the present transformation change in Ethiopia (since 2018), the support of ethnic based Ethiopian diaspora community from abroad had influenced the political and social landscape of the country through inflaming ethnic differences and political discontent, by using social media outlets called Oromo Media Network (OMN) and through financial contribution.

Furthermore, diaspora can repress democracy by helping dictator regimes who violate human right by the financial or other support. Beside that they can also participate to cause political conflicts and instability not only in national level but also in global as well as regional level. This may be through participating and supporting terrorist and radical groups in home country (Piazza 2018; Mariani et al. 2018). For example, these studies show that the Tamil diaspora provided strong financial support to the main Tamil armed group in Sri Lanka, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam similarly, the Croatian diaspora intervened in the war for independence by providing strong financial assistance to opposition groups (the

Croatian Democratic Union) which led the secession from Yugoslavia and for the foundation of terrorist group called Kosovo Liberation Army.

2.4 The economic contribution of diaspora

The most often discussed way of the economic contribution of diasporas is through sending financial remittances. Money that diasporas send to their families can encourage the economic growth of countries of origin especially for low- and middle-income countries. Although there are determinant factors for the effectiveness of remittance to encourage home country development. For example, sending cash remittances through formal channels may impact the foreign reserves of home country. According to the recent World Bank report (2018), remittances inflows to low and middle-income countries increased from \$ 483 billion in 2017 to \$ 529 billion in 2018.

Beside financial remittances there are also other types of remittances that diaspora send to their countries of origin including in-kind remittances such as medicines, books for school, clothes, shoes, medical equipment's, machineries for agriculture, electronic goods and social remittances (knowledge, ideas, skills and practices). However, this section concentrates on the impacts of diaspora through financial remittances. There are two types of methods that diasporas use to send remittance to their countries of origin in terms of the formal way by using official financial institutions and informal way by using relatives, friends or informal institutions such as the hawala system (Freund and Spatafora 2008). Beside the macro impact, sending remittance through formal method is more convenient method in terms of safety and speed (Siegel and Matthais 2013).

Anneke and Robert (2014) listed two advantages of using formal method of sending remittances to countries of origin. First, remittances channelled through the formal sector have more potential for promoting economic development by improving the earnings of the domestic financial sector and by increasing resources to finance economic activities. Second, an important side effect may be that they may bring individuals and households into contact with formal financial services, such as savings, loans, mortgages and insurances, which may foster economy-wide financial development. On the other hand, diaspora may prefer informal channels because of the higher transaction cost associated with sending remittances through formal channels. In this respect, according to Maloumbu-Baka and Kingombe (2016) remittance corridors to Africa and within Africa are the most

expensive. In addition, informal channels may be preferred due to the sender status in host country (economic, legal status) or due to the lack of appropriate financial services in homeland. Another reason might be related to the intended use of the transferred cash for example if the purpose of sending remittance is to support opposition or illegal groups in the home country the sender prefers to send through informal channel. There are various reasons why diasporas sending remittance to homeland among the reasons to cover cost of basic needs (food, shelter and for housing includes rent) for the family members who stay in countries of origin, for conspicuous purposes (to buy car, for building luxury houses, wedding, funeral, parties, holiday celebration etc), to cover educational and health expenses respectively, support relatives in education or for other needs.

Empirical study by Meyer and Shera (2017) focusing on six remittance recipient countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania and Bosnia Herzegovina) in the period from 1999 to 2013 shows that remittances have a positive impact on economic growth. The research indicated that the total amount of remittances in these countries represented the largest source of foreign exchange earnings and constituted more than 10 percent of GDP. Another study by (Hussain and Anjum 2014) from Pakistan examined the period between 1973 and 2011 finding that remittance is vital source of foreign currency for the country which had a positive impact for Pakistani economy. However, both studies emphasize additional conditions for the reported positive impacts of remittances. In the former case, the government of recipient countries used the remittance for productive investments such as for increasing school enrolment. In the latter case, factors such as trade openness and increasing number of international migrants from Pakistan plus their qualification (they were skilled migrants) played significant role.

Beside direct effect of remittances for the recipient households, they can have positive impact to encourage local development through increasing potential to buy goods from local markets. For example, a survey by (Pernia 2006) from Philippines shows that remittances benefit recipient households directly and influence the local economy via increased household spending. Thus, not only the recipient families but also the non-recipient ones are affected indirectly from the initial impact of remittances on the local economy and subsequent multiplier effects. Diasporas can encourage development of their countries of origin through entrepreneurship. Due to their experience from overseas and their transnational behaviour in terms of language skill (bi-lingual or more) and culture they can link host and home country for example through Foreign Direct Investment (Nkongolo-

Bakenda and Chrysostome 2012). In addition, (Elo et al. 2015) highlighted that due to the remittances, managerial capabilities and competencies, diasporas can act as catalysts for market entry of innovations and to become an important source of foreign direct investment.

Another contribution of diaspora can be their impact to promote the tourism sector in countries of origins which includes for instance their financial investment to build hotels, restaurants and souvenir shops. This investment sectors can have impact to encourage tourist industry for home country and can create job opportunity for the society in countries of origin. Diasporas can also create entertainments in the host countries that will reflect home country culture for example preparing events, bazar, musical festivals etc. (Mazimhaka 2007; Iorio and Corsale 2013). Beside the above tourism related contribution diaspora themselves as a tourist can help their country of origin, their holiday spending in tourist sector can have economic benefit for countries of origin and the society especially for those who are engaged in these sectors. Huang et al. (2013) argue that the tourist-destination relation in diaspora tourism is unique because tourists with immigrant origins often feel connected to the people, culture, and heritage of the destination before actually visiting the place. On the contrary, remittances can result negative consequences on countries of origin through increasing for example dependency and also resulting inequalities between remittance recipient groups and the societies in countries of origins (Jidoud 2015). Remittance flows from the overseas can affect remittance recipients in home country to decrease their motivation for example to work or study by expecting remittance from overseas. In addition to that spending of remittances for luxury or conspicuous purposes can increase inequality among local communities in remittance-recipient countries.

2.5 Social and philanthropic contribution of diaspora

Diaspora philanthropy can be related to the previously mentioned contributions of diasporas. Diasporas remittance in the form of money donation can be characterised in terms of individual direct support for the needy or through participating in hometown associations (Flanigan 2016). Diaspora association are mostly established based on ethnic and clan, religion, nationality, political ideology, profession, gender, etc (ibid). These association can help homeland community through participating in developmental projects to build public goods such as school for children's, digging water well, road construction, supporting youth

to start up small business through financial support, improving health sectors in home countries, establishing various types of institution, sponsoring or long distance adoption of orphanage children's, (by covering their cost of living and school). According to Minto-Coy (2016), between 2008 and 2012 Jamaica received over USD 7.5 million from Jamaican diasporas who lived abroad. The objectives of the donation have been to improve the healthcare and education of homeland.

Furthermore, skilled diasporas can help their homeland by sharing their knowledge and skill through establishing and participating in volunteer programs. For example, according to Blayney (2015) the Iraqi Medical Sciences Association and the Iraqi American Higher Education Foundation are organizations founded by the Iraqi-American doctors and scientist diasporas to promote social, academic, and professional ties in Iraq. Similarly, study by Yong and Rohman, (2013) shows that between 2009 to 2010, professional Nepalese diasporas from UK participated in volunteer programs and provided training for health professionals in Nepal on mental health-related problems, special program on learning disability, communication training for nursing students, through providing teachers training and special lectures to medical students and practitioners.

Diasporas also can participate in enhancing the awareness and eliminating harmful traditional practices such as early marriage, abduction, polygamy, gender inequality, extravagant behaviour (culture of not saving for tomorrow) or improving family planning, safety behaviour (traffic, hygiene, using sewerage systems, etc.), or awareness about climate change (De Haas, 2009). Beside that diasporas can participate in advocacy to mobilize resources especially during hardship times in homeland such as natural disaster, civil war, during internal displacement of people in home countries etc. These fund raising activities of diaspora network can also help to enhance public awareness and international recognition of emergencies occurring in the respective countries of origin (Boccagni and Decimo 2013). For example, according to (Sapat et. al. 2016), the Haitian diaspora organizations both in Haiti and in the USA after the 2010 Haiti earthquake played a critical role by advocacy work on important issues such as, post-disaster recovery and social service provision. In general, this type of diaspora contribution is called social remittances.

“Social remittances are idea, behaviour, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending-country communities. “(Levitt 1998, p. 927).

2.6 Policies and institutions to engage diaspora for development

The notion of “engaging diaspora for development” refers to efforts made to incorporate diasporas into the existing policies in global, regional and national level. These policies consider the importance of diasporas as a part of development agendas, for example policy makers can recognize the positive contribution of remittances for economic growth by reforming the services and quality of financial sectors and by decreasing the cost of sending remittances. According to (Chanoine et al. 2013) diaspora engagement can be formal or informal. They define the former as the policies of international organizations focusing on diasporas and the policies of a given countries of origin to engage with their diaspora in both countries of origin and destination countries. The latter then encompasses the social, financial and cultural ties that individuals abroad maintain with their country of origin irrespective of official policies.

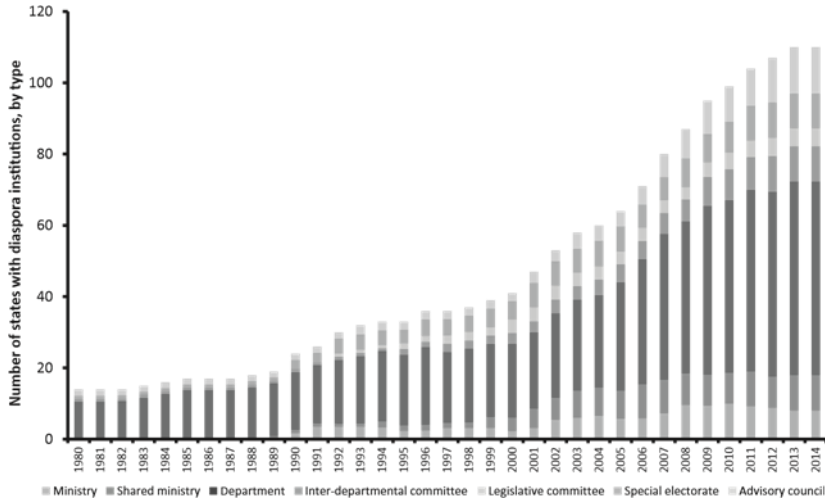
A recent study (Ismail et al. 2014) shows how the governments of Malaysia, China and India designing different mechanisms and strategies to tap their skilled diasporas from the overseas through ratifying diaspora policies. Among the initiatives that has been taken by the government of China includes the establishment of diaspora agencies to facilitate the returnee of highly skilled diasporas on temporary or permanent basis. For example, this agency advocating patriotism among diaspora to serve home country and also sponsoring Chinese students who are willing to return and work in China. Like in China, the Indian government has been encouraging highly skilled diasporas to participate for the development of India for example through granting dual citizenship, creating network between highly skilled diaspora and the government by arranging conferences and meetings. Similarly, the government of Malaysia provide incentives for the returnee of highly skilled diaspora. For example, the introduction of exemption of tax to import personal items from the overseas, allowing permanent residency for foreign spouses and foreign-born children and also the provision of joint venture programs can be mentioned as an example.

In addition to the diaspora policies of particular countries, other organizations such as civic associations, NGOs, international institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, International organization for Migration, the United Nation, African Union and European Union implement different programs to engage diasporas (De Haas, 2012). Among the programs and initiatives that are implemented by the above listed international organization the Global Knowledge Partnerships on Migration and Development, Africa

Diaspora Program, Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals, Migration for Development in Africa, Citizens and Diaspora Directorate and Migration European Union Expertise are some of them. These programs encourage the participation of diasporas to help the development of their countries of origin for instance through mentoring the development projects as well as through supportive advice. For example, IOM, has formulated a comprehensive strategic approach for “Enabling, Engaging and Empowering diaspora communities as agents for development – with each area involving a range of interventions by governments and other stakeholders, supported by IOM through policy advice and programming “(IOM; 2013). They also implement policies to harness diaspora potential for development in terms of financial, social and human capital. For instance, „diaspora option „is a policy designed by the World Bank aim to tap the knowledge and skill of diasporas (Pellerin and Mullings 2013, p. 89). Diaspora through network can help their countries of origin for example through participating in philanthropic activities.

Similarly, government of migrant sending countries has been establishing diaspora institutions from higher administrative position (ministerial level) to local level. Beside encouraging diasporas to contribute for home country development, these institutions provide various type of support and services to the diaspora communities in the overseas. For example, through an agency called the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, the Philippine government providing legal assistance and employment contract to protect Filipino migrant workers abroad. According to (Gamlen 2014) diaspora institutions are defined as formal state offices in executive or legislative branches of government dedicated to the affairs of emigrants and their descendants. His definition (see Figure 1) include the full ministries, shared ministries, departments, and interdepartmental committees within the executive branch of government. Beside that he also incorporates legislative-branch institutions, such as parliamentary standing committees, dedicated seats in the upper or lower house of the legislature, and councils formally appointed to advise on legislation affecting diaspora groups.

Figure I. The rise of diaspora institutions: Number of states with formal offices for emigrants and their descendants, by Institution type, 1980–2014.



Source: Diaspora engagement policies project, Oxford Diasporas Programme. Stacked Columns Reflect the proportion of institutions of each type (cited in Gamlen 2014, p. 182).

3. THE ETHIOPIAN CONTEXT

3.1 International migration from Ethiopia and Ethiopian diaspora

The history of international migration and the formation of Ethiopian diaspora is mainly connected to the authoritarian communist regime called “Derg” which was in power since 1974 and lasted to 1991. Prior to this year (during reign of Emperor Haile Selassie), a few people who were mostly from the elite groups migrated to overseas for further educational carrier or for training. After accomplishing their studies most of them have returned to Ethiopia (Schewel and Bahir 2019).

Since the Derg seized power and especially after 1977, the outward migration from Ethiopia has been noticeable. Members of civic associations who were suspected of criticizing the communist regime and other opposition groups including students from higher institutions who had different political ideology were brutally killed and tortured. Following this crimes and human right abuses, a large number of people especially youth were forced to migrate to neighbouring countries such as Sudan and Kenya (Chiatti, 2019). Some of them used these countries as transit to move forward to the Western countries. Due to closeness in relation to location, language, ethnicity and inter-marriage, the history of

international migration from Ethiopia is usually towards neighbouring countries. However, the exact number of Ethiopian migrants in these countries (Djibouti, Sudan, Kenya) remain unknown.

Another group of people who were affected by communist regimes were the Ethiopian Jews. The ancestral ties together with dictator leadership in Ethiopia caused the migration of these people towards Israel while using neighbouring countries as a transit. The Ethiopian emperor Menelik II who ruled Ethiopia from 1889 to 1913, believed to be the son of king Solomon from Israel and queen of Sheba from Ethiopia (Karbo 2013). The migration of Ethiopian Jews took place mainly in two operation. According to (Shoulamit 2015), the first wave of immigrants from Ethiopia has arrived in "operation Moses" in the years 1984-1985, in which nearly 8000 Jews have been brought to Israel, then after in 1991; a second wave of immigrants, of about 38000 people has arrived as part of "operation Solomon". Even though the emigration of Ethiopian Jews is still ongoing process and supported by the government of Israel challenges to integrate to the society in Israel remains persistent. This is due to various reasons for example in relation to low level of education makes this communities not to integrate well in Israel. According to (Heilbrunn et. al 2016), Ethiopian Jews were characterized by a rural tradition culture and 90% of them are illiterate. Similarly, studies (Rosca et al. 2015 and Seeman 2015) show difficulties of Ethiopian communities in its social, cultural, occupational and educational integration in Israel.

In 1991, the new political party called The Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) overthrew communist regime and took the power in Ethiopia. After two years, in 1993 Eritrea separated from Ethiopia by referendum. Following Eritrea independence from Ethiopia, in 1998 the war erupted between Eritrea and Ethiopia over border dispute called "Bademe" (place located in the north part of Ethiopia). Because of the war many people lost their life from both sides and the Ethiopian government expelled Eritreans from Ethiopia. Moreover, due to family reason some people from Ethiopia left at this time to Eritrea following their Eritrean families who were forced to go to Eritrea (Abbink 1998).

Since 1991, the characteristic of international migration from Ethiopia has changed from refugee driven migration to diversified pattern of migration. Some Ethiopians who left the country during the communist regime have returned back to Ethiopia, especially from neighbouring countries. On the other hand, others left the country because of family reunification, education, employment opportunities and a scheme program called Diversity

Visa (Kebede 2016). This Diversity visa lottery scheme program is one of the means among the different patterns of outward migration in which Ethiopian migrants leaving their countries of origin to North America. The program was instituted by an Act of 1990 the United States Congress to Diversify the U.S population through a lottery made available to people from countries with historically low rates of emigration to North America.

The contemporary outward migration from Ethiopia is mainly characterized by labour migration, propelled by economic reasons (Fransen and Kuschminder 2009). The recent case study by Gebreyesus et al. (2019) held in 10 different sites in Ethiopia (four in Addis Ababa, two in Oromiyia and four in Southern Nations Nationalities and people (SNNPR) shows that out of 346 youth respondents (ages 15-24 years), 193 respondents (55,8%) reported that they have the intention to emigrate abroad. The same study highlights that even in the subgroup of those who didn't express immediate intention to emigrate abroad, 37% reported that it was because of the fact that they had no sufficient money to cover the costs when they needed to go abroad. Although there is limited research made regarding intention of migration (both for skilled and unskilled workers) from Ethiopia. In 2012 study from Addis Ababa University found that one-third of medical students said they preferred to stay in Ethiopia after graduation while more than half of them intended to emigrate after completing medical school training (Deressa and Azazh 2012). This study highlights that being male was highly associated with intention to emigrate than females.

According to Adugna (2019), emigration from Ethiopia is currently occurring in three major migration corridors: Eastward to the Gulf States and the Middle East, Southward to South Africa and Northward-trans-Saharan migration to Libya and beyond. Following the ratification of freedom of movement in Ethiopia in 1991, hundreds and thousands of women from Ethiopia migrated into Gulf states (Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Dubai and Oman etc.) for domestic work whereas, males especially from the southern parts of Ethiopia migrate into south Africa (Kefale and Mohammed 2015). Despite the above-mentioned factors there are additional reasons for the recent gender-based outward migration from Ethiopia. Even though there is progress in the country regarding gender equality I argue that there are still cultural (patriarchal) problems that affect females in Ethiopia especially in rural parts of the country. Among these traditions' child marriage, abductions, violence, limited access to resources and education, discrimination, workload etc. are some of them. Due to these issues the vulnerable groups

(females) considering migration as one alternative to improve their living standard as well as their families who are living in Ethiopia (ibid).

Currently, young people (women's) from Ethiopia who are mostly characterized by unskilled workers attempting to cross international borders to reach especially to Arab countries via Djibouti and Yemen (ibid). However, on their journey as well as during their arrival to the destination countries they faced various physical and psychological challenges such as rape, beating, underpayment, sexual abuse, torture, arbitrary detention, murder, trafficking, verbal insult, etc. For example, in 2013 following implementation of regularization campaign by Saudi government especially for undocumented workers, more than 160,000 Ethiopians were forcibly deported from Saudi Arabia (Regt and Tafesse 2015). Nevertheless, during deportation the Saudi Arabian police brutally murdered three Ethiopian migrant workers, hundred were detained, beaten and harnessed by security forces (Mariam 2016). Due to these abuses and violence from October 2013 the Ethiopia government temporarily banned the outward migration of Ethiopians towards Gulf states (Ali 2018). According to the Ethiopian Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA cited in Fernandez 2017), the number of Ethiopian migrant workers that legally migrated to Saudi Arabia increased dramatically from 3,478 between July 2009 and July 2010 to over 100,000 in 2011. Migrants from Ethiopia use both authorized and unauthorized ways to emigrate from their country. However, most of them categorized under unauthorized migrants, who left the country by using for instance irregular recruitment agencies, smugglers and traffickers (Carter and Rohwerder 2016).

Lastly, based on the Ethiopian government data a study by (Adugna, 2019) estimated a total of over three million Ethiopians diasporas living in the overseas. Ethiopian emigrants are scattered in different parts of the world. He listed North America, Middle East and Europe where the majority of Ethiopian diaspora mainly concentrate. Ethiopian diasporas in the overseas identify themselves based on their ethnicity, nationality and religion, political ideology etc. This division is mainly connected with different perspectives among Ethiopian diasporas regarding for instance the process how the present modern Ethiopia as a state has been established. The historical formation of the present-day Ethiopia state nationalism is a complex and debatable issue within different religious and ethnic groups in Ethiopia as well as Ethiopian diasporas abroad. Some of Ethiopian diasporas romanticizing it by referring for example "Adwa" victory (a place located in the northern part of Ethiopia) in which Ethiopians defeated Italian invasion that makes the country to be free from Italian

colonization. This groups praising emperor Menelik II leadership for his success and consider him like a hero who motivated even other African countries to struggle for their independence.

Paradoxically, the other groups of diasporas especially the “Oromo” narratives perceived the historical formation of modern Ethiopia similar to European colonization. For instance, regarding the Oromo diaspora, Jalata (2003) in his study associates the phenomena of Ethiopian state formation with the history of European scramble for Africa. He argues that the historical creation of modern Ethiopia can be characterized by the forceful domination of “Abyssinian” ethnicity and homogeneity of their religion, Orthodox Christianity. The ancient Abyssinian kingdom consist of the geo-political entity covering the present-day political boundaries of southern Eritrea and northern Ethiopia (Markakis 1989). In this part of Ethiopia, the people speak sematic language (Amharic or Tigrigna) and most of them are followers of Orthodox religion.

In the second half of the 19th century (1906) emperor Menelik II (1889-1914) expanded Abyssinian territory towards the south, west, and eastern part of the current modern Ethiopia that had been consisted of different types of kingdoms and political structure such as Oromo kingdom , Kafficho, Affar, Ogaden, Showa, Wälamo, Gambella etc (ibid). During the expansion some scholar claim (Bass 2019) that the traditional value language and religion of these ethnic groups has been repressed.

In general, according to Aregay et.al (2019), the political narratives of Ethiopian diasporas categorized into three groups:

- 1) The pan-Ethiopianist diaspora; As the name indicates this group of diasporas are against the division of Ethiopia, they rather believe in the united Ethiopia and unitary system of government. They are against any separatist movement in the country. Pan-Ethiopianist deny the existence of different Ethnic groups in the country, very often they criticizing the present ethnic federalism system of government in Ethiopia.
- 2) Federalist diaspora; These federalist groups support the recognition of nations nationalities and people identities in Ethiopia through addressing nation questions where all language and culture respected equally. They argue that for the continuity of Ethiopia as a sovereignty state, it is necessary to decentralize the autonomy of the federal government into regional states. Beside that each nation and nationalities would have effective self-administration in their respective regions and equal representation at federal level. Even

though Ethiopia as a country constitute of more than 80 different language and ethnicity, they claim that there was repressive governments and ruling system in the country especially prior to 1991. They strongly criticizing the domination of unitary or authoritarian system of government.

After TPLF took the power by overthrowing military regime in Ethiopia, there was remarkable political reforms in the country. Due to the ratification of Ethiopian constitution in 1995, the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia was established which consists of 10 regional states and two administrative systems (Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa). Each regional state is divided based on ethnicity such as Oromo, Amhara, Somali, Tigrria, Afar, Harrar, Benishangul Gumez, Gambela, SNNPR and Sidama regions. The establishment of this constitution allow nations nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia to use their language, religion, culture and tradition without any discrimination as well as to govern themselves by their ethnicity. Beside that it allows to establish independent state which grant even the right to self-determination of nations up to succession (Article 39). Even though the establishment of federalism for ethnically diversified country like Ethiopia brought big hope especially for federalist diaspora groups; in relation with fair and equal integration of all nation nationalities and people in Ethiopia to participate in social, economic and politics of Ethiopia as well as to apply democratic system of government in the country. The implementation of this system of administration associates with problems and sometimes it is misused to favour a certain ethnic group (particularly Tigrayans under the TPLF rule). The federalist diasporas argue that the present federalism in Ethiopia in practice is similar to the previous dictator regimes in which there is unequal distribution of power and resources for regional states. There is absence of representatives from regional states in federal government, unfair provision of development projects, infrastructure, etc. Even if the constitution give right for regional states to administrate by their own, in reality the federal government interfering in many aspects. On the other hand, pan-Ethiopianist diaspora argue that federalism in Ethiopia will cause disintegration of the country as a whole. They also argue that politicization of ethnicity caused controversies over ethnic boundaries in the country and results the current ethnic conflict in Ethiopia.

3) Secessionist and irredentist diaspora; This groups of diasporas advocating for the separation from Ethiopia. As I mentioned earlier, due to the historical narratives regarding the formation of Ethiopia, in the past years there emerged different ethnic based political organization (e.g. Oromo Liberation Front and Ogaden Liberation Front) established for

independent statehoods. These organizations believe that Ethiopia as a country colonized their ethnic group where they belong and were struggling to establish independent states. They claim that Ethiopian nationality imposed upon them without their willingness. Though secessionist diaspora supports these organizations through financial capital and advise.

From the above point of view, one may argue that Ethiopian diaspora is formed based on problematic concepts for example, in relation with absence of collective imagination and memories among Ethiopian diasporas about home country; some of them persist to be named or recognized by their Ethiopian national identity rather by their ethnicity and religion. For example, “Harari” Muslim communities in Toronto, Canada identify themselves as “Harariness”; these ethnic groups living in the eastern part of Ethiopia (Gibb 1998, p. 247).

In the 1960s and 1970s the formation of Ethiopian diasporas has been mainly driven by oppressive regimes; these diasporas can be categorized and characterized themselves as victim diasporas. On the other hand, in recent years the people from Ethiopia emigrating abroad by the desire to live better life; they claim lack of jobs and poverty in Ethiopia as their reasons of migration. Ethiopian diaspora integration in destination countries varied in terms of for instance the social, educational and economic status before they emigrate from Ethiopia and after their arrival in the host countries. Even though it is difficult to estimate the exact number of Ethiopian diasporas in each regions of the world, due to their significant influence in the economy, social and in particular politics in Ethiopia, we can consider those Ethiopian diasporas who are residing in North America as a sample for this thesis. As addressed earlier the formation of Ethiopian diasporas to North America is significant especially after 1974; when the communist regime took power in Ethiopia. Since then due to various reasons such as DV lottery, family reasons, education, refugee etc Ethiopian emigrants coming to North America.

Ethiopian diasporas in the North America were living in different parts of the country. Although, a large concentration of them living in Washington, D.C. some of the streets given after the name “little Ethiopia” (Chacko 2011, pp. 164); similar to home country the Ethiopian diasporas in this metropolitan city have cultural, professional and political associations run by Ethiopian diasporas including restaurants, shops, beauty salons, religious institutions etc. (ibid). At the same time due to the establishment of Ethiopian Sport Federation in North America every year a large number of Ethiopian diasporas held together for sport activities and for cultural events.

According to migration policy institute report (2014), between 2009 to 2013 there were about 251, 000 Ethiopian immigrants living in the United States (including the first and second generation). This report also reveals other socio-economic characteristics such as employment status, the educational attainment, and household income respectively; employment rate among those in labor force was nearly the same as the U.S. population on the other hand, Ethiopian diaspora members were significantly less likely to be in professional or managerial occupations than the general U.S. labor force. The educational attainment of the Ethiopian immigrants was similar to that of the general U.S. population (the same percent (20%) of Ethiopian diasporas comparing with the overall U.S population had a bachelor's degree whereas 12% s of them aged 25 and older had master's degree). Despite similar educational attainment the Ethiopian diaspora had significantly lower median annual household income.

3.2 Political transformation in Ethiopia (since 2018)

In this part of my thesis, we will discuss the political transformation of Ethiopia since the beginning of 2018 and challenges related to the reforms. Before 2018, there were frequent protests against the oppressive regime dominated by the TPLF. Thousands were killed, tortured and send to prison especially youth from Oromia and Amhara regions due to expressing their right to speak, write and make assembly. Large numbers of journalists and opposition party leaders was also arrested. For example, in 2014, Hailemariam Desalegn, a former prime minster of Ethiopia announced Addis Ababa master plan. The objective of this plan was to expand Addis Ababa by affecting mostly Oromo lands. Due to this reason protests erupted in different part of Oromia regions and the government took a brutal measure. Ethiopian diaspora from the overseas also demonstrated against the ruling party in Ethiopia which was led by the former prime minister Melese Zenawi (who played an important role in introducing the system of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia) and his successor Haile Mariam Desalegn. Meles Zenawi and his administration who ruled Ethiopia over 20 years were accused of an attempt for ethnic cleansing of Amhara's and for labelling them as enemies (Atnafu 2018). Due to the increasing of social unrest in different parts of the country, in October 2016 the government announced the state of emergency for the consecutive 10 months. The resistance nevertheless continued and spread into other parts of Ethiopia (South).

On 27 March 2018, the government of Ethiopia led by EPRDF so far dominated by TPLF, elected a new chairman Dr. Abiy Ahmed from the Oromo Democratic Party. Subsequently on April 2, 2018 he was also elected as the prime minister. His inauguration speech was remarkable for the majority Ethiopians living both inside and outside the country. He repeatedly preached about unity, love and prosperity. Even if he came from the same ruling political coalition (EPRDF), he has gained a wide support since his first speech. Few days after Dr. Abiy took the power on the 23 June, there was a huge demonstration in the capital city, Addis Ababa to support his government. It was unique because the people support him without any enforcement or other incentives as usual for earlier meetings.

Within a short period, in 2018, political prisoners and journalists were released and the new administration attempted to reform legal institutions (e.g. National electoral board of Ethiopia and judicial system). Dr. Abiy Ahmed announced in parliament the government plan to partially or fully privatize some of the enterprises that were owned by the state such as transport logistic and shipping services, industrial parks, energy, Ethio-Telecom, etc. (Adem et al. 2018). The government has also shown willingness to cooperate with opposition parties who were living outside Ethiopia including also diasporas who were not allowed in the previous years to enter into the country. Based on the government invitation many opposition political parties from overseas and neighbouring countries (Eritrea) were returning to Ethiopia. In addition, after he took power, he announced his willingness to end conflicts and hostilities with neighbouring countries including Eritrea. He promised to accept and comply Algiers agreement (a peace agreement signed in 2002 by the government of Ethiopia and Eritrea to end war between the two countries) as a result, in 2018, the Eritrean president Isaias Afewerki accept the peace request from the Ethiopian government and signed peace agreement between Eritrea and Ethiopia. For his effort to bring peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea the Norwegian Nobel Committee gave the 2019 Nobel Peace Prize medal to the Ethiopian prime minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed.

He is often advocating a political philosophy of “medemer” - “adding up” or “coming together” in Amharic- and promoting a more inclusive political culture (Hagmann and Tronvoll 2019 pp. 2). Pan-Ethiopianist diasporas criticizing the idea of “medemer”, in which it is a systematically designed to hide the crimes that has been done by the former EPRDF politicians who are still in power. In the name of “medemer” those who are accused of human right abuses and corruption continue in their leadership even at present. On the

other hand, the federalist and secessionist diaspora criticizing this philosophy, in which Dr. Abiy in the name of “medemer” wanted to rule the country in unitary system of government.

Even though the transformation change raised big hope the society in Ethiopia and Ethiopian diaspora from the overseas, in about two years after Dr. Abiy assumed the office, all is not well in Ethiopia. Following the 2018 transformation change in Ethiopia there are various challenges and issues in the country. Ethnic conflicts especially in Afar region, mass displacement of Oromos from Somalia region, Gedeo-Guji Oromo tribes in west Guji, Amharas from Benishangul-Gumuz region and Anuak and Nuer ethnic conflict in Gambela region and also in the government higher institutions such as universities and colleges students lost their lives due to ethnic violence. According to IOM (2019) report, in 2018, Ethiopia recorded the third highest number of new displacements worldwide, with 3,191,000 internally displaced persons. The report emphasized that the leading causes of internal displacement in the country is mainly related with ethnic conflict over resources and borders.

Increasing crime and violence spread across different parts of the country. For instance, in Sidama and Harrari regions people were killed due to their ethnicity. Due to rumour, in Amhara region two medical researchers were killed and one is injured by mob-justice. Similarly, in Oromia region during the rally to welcome Jawar Mohammed (diaspora) in Shashemene (Oromia region), a young man was cruelly killed by mob-justice due to suspicious criminal attempt. Jawar Mohammed is an Oromo activist who owned mass media called OMN. He belongs to the federalist diaspora and considered himself as leader of young youth Oromo movement called “Qeeroo”. As I mentioned earlier his mass media is criticized for stimulating ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia.

Furthermore, due to security problems related with ethnic tensions people mobility in Ethiopia has been limited especially between regional states. For instance, even though the government announced to make the 2020 national election, due to ethnic conflicts the opposition parties can't be able to make campaign in different areas inside the country. diaspora courage and motive to invest in their countries of origin become challenged by these factors. Increasing of illegal weapons trade rise tension among the societies in Ethiopia. The absence of law enforcement and independent institutions in the country make the 2018 political transformation change in Ethiopia dismal.

At present, some people in Ethiopia argue that Abiy Ahmed administration might continue dictator leadership in Ethiopia. In October 2019 the Addis Ababa police arrested protesters at a rally criticizing the municipal government, journalists being harassed and imprisoned (Bratt 2020). For example, in June 26, 2019 Berihanu Adane, editor in chief of the privately owned Asrat television and the weekly Berera newspaper was arrested (ibid). Following protests against the government systematic internet shutdowns continued in the country especially in Oromia region (Keleme Wellega). Some people in Ethiopia argue that the economic and social fortunes of the country have even worsen compare to previous years before 2018, prices of basic necessities have increased. It seems there is a chaos in Ethiopian politics, dispute between Ethiopia and Egypt over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam continue, lack of consensus over common national agendas, absence of clear road map how to manage the country are still problems in the country.

There are various views inside the country as well as among Ethiopian diasporas abroad for the 2018 on the political transformation in Ethiopia. A study by (Fekede 2019) showed that there are widespread doubts about the ongoing political reforms in Ethiopia. However, the participants of this research at the same time confirmed their support for the new administration lead by Dr. Abiy Ahmed.

3.3 The contribution of diaspora in Ethiopia

It is generally thought that Ethiopian diaspora has played a significant role in the Ethiopian politics and also with regards to the economy and through transferring their knowledge and skills. Due to the limited access of foreign currency in Ethiopia, the financial transfer (remittance) send from diaspora to the family members in Ethiopia could play an important role to generate means of foreign exchange for the country. According to the (World Bank 2017) report, remittance inflow to Ethiopia increasing especially from 1977 until it reached its highest peak in 2014 (\$ 1,796 billion). However, since 2014 the data shows a declining of remittance inflows into Ethiopia.

Beside the macroeconomic impact of remittances can also have positive impact for the remittance recipient households in Ethiopia by decreasing risk of poverty through providing financial assistance to cover cost of living. A case study by Mohammed and Tolossa (2014) from the North-Eastern part of Ethiopia showed that remittance reduce vulnerability of households by serving as insurance mechanism especially during socio-

economic crisis. A similar case study by Zewdu (2017) shows that there are two significant impact of remittance which is sending from South Africa into the family members who are living in the Southern Ethiopia:

- 1) Remittances can help family members in Ethiopia to meet their basic needs such as buying household equipment, to buy plot of land and houses in the city, covering the cost of expense for children's education and to repay debt.
- 2) Remittances that are sent for events such as weddings, funerals and major local holidays enable many villagers, including non-migrant families, to avoid debt traps, to keep children from dropping out of school, and to celebrate holidays, with less frustration.

Furthermore, Ethiopians diaspora contributing for the development of their countries of origin by investing to various sectors such as agriculture, real estate, food processing, manufacturing and tourism (building resorts, hotels and restaurants). According to Chacko and Gebre (2012) between 1994 and 2008, a total of 1804 Ethiopian diasporas were issued different types of investment. However, they point out that the share of diaspora investment relative to domestic private investment and foreign direct investment is low (3%). Beside that Ethiopian diasporas were engaged in various developmental projects in Ethiopia for instance through buying the bonds for the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam as well as through donating monthly payment for the recent Ethiopian Diaspora Trust Fund (EDTF) (ibid).

Ethiopian diaspora also contributes to their homeland by introducing new ideas and innovations to improve the socio-economic problems in Ethiopia. For instance, a research by Gashaw and Kibret (2018) confirmed that the Ethiopian Commodity Exchange have a positive impact on the existing marketing system and for the development of agricultural value chains in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Commodity Exchange is an example of the contribution of Ethiopian diaspora because it was co-established by Eleni Gebre Medhin, an economist with Ethiopian roots. The Ethiopian North American Health Professional Association provides indirect medical outreach via medical missions in Ethiopia through participating in orphan support and by establishing preventive care programs as well as through participating in voluntaries programs to provide health service and medical training in Ethiopia. In addition, it also sponsors international medical fellowships for Ethiopian health providers and collecting medical books and equipment as well as providing financial support in response to the health care crisis in Ethiopia (Kuschminder and Siegel 2011).

Similarly, the Ethiopian Physics Society in North America encourage the education and training of Ethiopians in related field studies in Ethiopia through providing charitable material support such as computer, physics books, equipment's, providing mentoring assistance to students and teachers in Ethiopia, exchanging information and developing career in the field through arranging conferences and workshops , assisting researches in Ethiopia and connecting universities in Ethiopia and in North America through facilitating networks (Burns 2013).

Another diaspora contribution in Ethiopia is their impact on Ethiopian politics. Ethiopian diasporas arguably help to bring peace in Ethiopia through participating in peaceful discussion with the government. In this regard the Ethiopian Muslim diaspora association have played the biggest role. To avoid government interference in religious institutions in Ethiopia, for the last few years especially before the transformation change in Ethiopia, the Muslim religion followers in Ethiopia peacefully protesting for their right to self-determine their fate by themselves while the government took forceful measure to repress their protests. During this time the Ethiopian Muslim diaspora representative has been in Ethiopia to negotiation with the Ethiopian government in order to, build peace between Muslim societies in Ethiopia and the government (Feyissa at al. 2011).

Ethiopian diaspora particularly those who are living in the USA influence the politics of their country of origin. For instance, through lobbying home country politics in the host country. In the past years, especially before the recent transformation change in Ethiopia (2018), the Ethiopian diaspora lobbied for the approval of the House Resolution (HR. 5680) in the US congress. It is also known as the Ethiopia freedom, democracy and human right advancement Act of 2006 (Metaferia 2009). This bill aimed to encourage and facilitate the consolidation of security, human rights, democracy and economic freedom in Ethiopia. Recently, similar attempt has been also made by Ethiopian diasporas to ratify the implementation of (HR-128) in Ethiopia. This amendment supposed to encourage respect of human right and supporting inclusive government in Ethiopia.

Similarly, Ethiopian diaspora has played a significant impact (both positive and negative) on home country politics. Through establishing diaspora media for example Ethiopian Satellite Television, addressed human right violation in Ethiopia such as the regime abuses of freedom of speech, reflecting voice of journalists, bloggers and writers who has been jailed in Ethiopia, presenting severity of corruption of EPRDF politicians etc. Due to monopolizing of mass- medias (television and radio) by the government in Ethiopia,

there has been lack of trusted television channel available for the society in Ethiopia. So therefore, the diaspora satellite media (ESAT) provide information which hasn't been available for the society in Ethiopia. However, this diaspora medias are accused of biased information's as well as absence of professionalism (in journalism). Beside that diaspora medias have played significant role to cause political instability in Ethiopia through escalating ethnic conflicts. For example, earlier mentioned ethnic based media called Oromo Media Network can be mentioned here.

In addition, Ethiopian diaspora also played role for improvement of democracy in Ethiopia. According to Terrence (2011) the Ethiopian diaspora play significant role before the 2005 elections by the financial support for the opposition parties in Ethiopia and through participating in the campaigns. However, after the elections, due to the frauds of voting results, demonstration and protests have been erupted in different parts of the country. Following this the government took measure by killing people and arresting the opposition leaders. As a reaction, the Ethiopian diasporas, especially from the North America, started to struggle to avoid human right abuses. In the past years especially after 2005 election in Ethiopia, the relationship between the Ethiopian diaspora and the government in Ethiopia mostly characterized by antagonistic (as Dufoix typology of diaspora classification in theoretical part of this thesis). The Ethiopian government labelling the Ethiopian diaspora who were mostly protesting the regime as terrorist. On the other hand, diasporas claimed the government of Ethiopia in relation to violation of human right, democracy, freedom of speech and for fraud voting results.

lastly, Ethiopian diaspora help to the country of origin during social problems. According to 2014 (IOM) report, the Ethiopian diaspora through Global Alliance for the Rights of Ethiopian diasporas donated \$ 30,000 to support IOM's on-going post-arrival assistance to Ethiopian migrants returning from Saudi Arabia. The same organization, Global Alliance for the Rights of Ethiopians also contribute for the displacement of thousands of „Guji and Gedeo“people from Oromia region as well as for fighting the present global epidemic (Coronavirus disease of 2019) in Ethiopia through financial donation.

3.4 Initiatives of Ethiopian government to engage diaspora

In the past years the Ethiopian government implemented different diaspora policies to increase the participation of diaspora especially in the socioeconomic development of Ethiopia. Among the initiatives and policies, the establishment of diasporas institutions in minister-level namely Ethiopian Expatriate Affairs, Diaspora Coordinating Office, Employment Service Promotion Directorate and The Ethiopian Investment Agency are some of them (Kuschminder and Siegel 2013). Beside the establishing of diaspora institutions, the government has been active to formulate policies such as the Ethiopian origin identity card or “Yellow Card” (ibid). This card grants diasporas to participate in the social and economic sectors in Ethiopia, though not in politics (for example diaspora with the Yellow Card have no right to vote or to be elected). Another attempt that has been taken by the Ethiopian government includes the right to create bank accounts in foreign currency, provision of diaspora bond and the recognition of the importance of diaspora engagement in Ethiopia by the Ethiopian government for instance the government has invited all diasporas for the celebration of “diaspora day” festival in Ethiopia (Tefera and Castro 2016). Similarly, the Ethiopian Embassy in Ottawa (Canada) has been working with the Ethiopian Canadian Development Council to host a Forum and provide information on investment opportunities in Ethiopia (Hercog and Kuschminder 2011). After the transformation change in Ethiopia, the government attempted to improve the participation of diasporas in Ethiopia through implementing various reforms. For example, in September 2019, the Ethiopian embassy in London announced that the Ethiopian diaspora agency is to be established in Ethiopia to mobilize and facilitate Ethiopians diasporas to engaged in the developmental endeavours in Ethiopia. At the same time the government has made reforms which can improve the inclusiveness of the financial sectors (bank) in Ethiopia to participate the diasporas in their home country. For example, in July 2019, the Ethiopia parliament has passed a bill to allow members of Ethiopians and foreign nationals of Ethiopian origins to invest, buy share and to start lending business in the financial sectors in Ethiopia which have been before owned by the state.

In addition, there is increasing government interest to encourage diasporas engagement in the transformation change in Ethiopia, for instance for the first time in Ethiopia history the government of Ethiopia announced his courage to meet all Ethiopian diaspora in North America, regardless of ethnicity, religion and political attitude that gave bright hope for large number of diaspora groups who are residing abroad. It improved the

relationship between diaspora and the government which have been mostly characterized by the former Prime Minister Meles Zenawi as enemy for the country. During his visit in the USA the new prime minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed negotiated the Ethiopian Orthodox church, which were divided into two groups for many years, the one exiled in USA and the other stayed in Ethiopia. Due to his mediation effort these two separated religions re-united and became one.

Similarly, the motivation of Ethiopian diaspora to contribute to their homeland development has increased especially since the begging of the 2018 with the transformation of Ethiopia. Before this year, except the supporters of the former prime minister Meles Zenawi, the majority of diaspora distanced themselves from investing in Ethiopia. Ethiopian diasporas were well known especially in the USA by their frequent demonstration against the government but after the new prime minister took the power in 2018 the majority diasporas including the former activists who were opposing the previous prime minister started to support Dr. Abiy Ahmed. There was rising interest to encourage the reforms for example by contribution to the newly established EDTF. During his visit in USA, Dr. Abiy Ahmed launched one dollar per day campaign through EDTF. The government quoted the aim of this trust fund to facilitate investment in education and health sectors in Ethiopia:

„ Diaspora, here is call to you! a dollar a day to help children get education, our brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers get health service, and above all, consider this as paying back to your people who gave you future while they had no one. “

Ethiopia Prime minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed

As I mention above even though the Ethiopian diasporas contribute for their home country development there are various challenges which discourage Ethiopian diasporas not to participate in the economical, societal and political sectors in Ethiopia. Recent studies by (Gebretsadik 2015; Chacko and Gebre 2012); shows the major constraints which hinder the developmental participation of diaspora in Ethiopia which includes lack of access to up-to-date and accurate business information, inconsistency of government policies, bureaucracy, corruption, limited access to finance , absence of working ethics and culture in local business for example late delivery of services , absence of rule of law and order for instance regarding contract enforcement and management.

4. DATA AND METHODS

For the empirical part i use data collected using a web-based survey. The respondents were contacted through my close friends and my social network so the sampling can be referred to as a convenience snowball sampling. Two groups of respondents were purposely contacted for this research including those Ethiopians from my social network who are currently living in Ethiopia and those Ethiopians who currently live out of Ethiopia. The objective of this sampling strategy was to obtain the two comparable subgroups of respondents living in and out of Ethiopia. The respondents spend approximately 15-30 minutes with completing the survey and the data collection lasted for about two months between November 2018 and January 2019.

The survey forms can be found in Appendix. The questionnaire was prepared in English and contained questions dealing with various topics such as basic demographic, socioeconomic, and sociocultural characteristics of respondents; history of migration, integration and linkage to home country; economic, societal and political engagement of Ethiopian diaspora in Ethiopia; type, purpose, frequency and motivation of remittance; approaches how to encourage diaspora to participate in the development endeavours in Ethiopia; opinion about the economic growth and future development of Ethiopia and also the role of diaspora and list of major barriers hindering developmental participation of diasporas. A slightly different survey instrument was used for the two subgroups of respondents. For Ethiopians living abroad 39 questions were asked, whereas for Ethiopians who lived in Ethiopia it was 27 questions. The additional questions asked to the former group of respondents mostly focused on their migration and integration experiences and linkages to the home country. The results were analyzed using the descriptive statistical methods and the basic tests of bivariate statistical associations and comparisons of subgroup means.

5. RESULTS

5.1 Descriptive characteristics of the sample

Table 1 shows the basic demographic, socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics of respondents for the entire sample (N=137) and for the two subgroups of

respondents (diaspora respondents and those living in Ethiopia). The last column also shows the p-value of a Chi-square test examining differences in the means of two subgroups. These results thus indicate in what respects the two subgroups statistically differ which should be accounted for in the subsequent analysis. The differences are statistically significant for the average age (diaspora respondents are on average older), share of respondents who have children (diaspora respondents have more often have children), share of respondents who are married (diaspora respondents are more often married) and share of students (the majority respondents from abroad were students whereas respondents from Ethiopia were teachers). This was despite the higher average age of diaspora respondents reported above. By contrast, we didn't find any statistical differences in other basic descriptive characteristics shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics of the sample

Name of variables	From the entire sample	Subsample of respondents from Ethiopia	Subsample of respondents from abroad	Difference between subsamples (p-value)
Number of respondents	137	62	75	-
Share of female respondent	25%	19%	29%	0,2
Average age	34	31	36	0,000
Percentage share of respondents who have children's	42%	31%	52%	0,01
Place of birth: share of those from Addis Ababa	45%	44%	45%	0,8
Marital status: the share of married	45%	32%	55%	0,01
Share of those with Amharic as native language	84%	79%	88%	0,2
Share of those with Orthodox religion	68%	66%	69%	0,7
Share of those with masters or doctoral degree	54%	47%	60%	0,1
Share of those with higher skilled professional job	76%	74%	77%	0,7
Share of students	14%	5%	23%	0,003

5.2. Sub-sample of diaspora respondents

5.2.1. Migration-related characteristics

In this section we present various migration-related characteristics for the subsample of diaspora respondents. Appendix II shows that a little more than half (55%) of the diaspora respondents lived in the USA, while 11% in Norway, 8% in Canada, 7% in Czechia and the rest in other 10 countries.

Respondents who participated in this study listed various reasons for their decision to emigrate from Ethiopia. Table 2 shows that the most frequently (46%) they mentioned education as their major reason, while economic reasons (23%), political reasons (13%), and family (7%) were also represented if the reported reasons classified into broader types. The question was asked as an open question and most of the respondents replied that their reasons were; to continue their education career, search for better quality of education system, to get broader knowledge which isn't accessible in Ethiopia as well as to seek for job opportunities and better quality of life.

Table 2: Type of reasons reported for the decision to emigrate from Ethiopia

Reason of migration from Ethiopia:	Frequency	Percent
To study abroad	38	46
Economic reasons	19	23
Political reasons	11	13
Family reasons	6	7
Other	6	7
Missing	3	4
Total	83	100

Note: for the major reasons of migration some of the respondents provided two reasons so therefore, the summation doesn't correspond to the number of respondents.

Table 3 reveals the type of residence permit that the respondents maintain in host countries where they are living. It shows that most frequently 48% they were citizens of the host country. Beside that we also examined the relationship between their status of residence and their average length of stay abroad. The pattern of this relationship is expectable; the average length of stay was considerably higher for those with citizenship and significantly lower for those on student visa.

Table 3: Status of residence in host country and relationship to the length of stay abroad

Status of residence	Frequency	Percent	Average length of stay abroad (years)
Citizen of the host country	36	48	17
Legal permanent resident	24	32	9
Legal temporary resident	6	8	8
Study visa	5	7	3
Other	1	1	16
Missing	3	4	-
Total	75	100	13

In addition, Table 4 shows the major reported challenges that diasporas faced after migration. The 21% of respondent listed difficulties to adopt new culture and social value as the biggest challenge they were faced in the host country. By using open questions, the respondents described their difficulties such as troubles to adopt the new culture and the host society way of life, hardships to integrate into the host societies due to different social values for example one respondent mention his biggest challenge as follows, “let alone the language barrier, there was so much up and down I faced culturally, economically and emotionally but mostly the culture differences ”. Interestingly, economic or financial problems were reported less frequently among major challenges they had to deal with.

Table 4: The major challenges after migration

The major challenges after migration:	Percent
Difficulties to adopt new culture and social value	21%
Homesickness/ difficulties to integrate in the host society	20%
Language barrier/ cultural shock	16%
Financial problems to cover the cost of living	9%
Difficulties to find skilled work	6%
Difficulty to adopt the cold weather	4%
Racism	2%
No challenge at all	9%
Other	4%
Missing	9%
Total	100%

We also examined the intention of respondents to return into Ethiopia as well as their preparation for the return (whether those who reported plan to return already made any preparation or not). Table 5 shows that 41% of respondents reported intention to return permanently into Ethiopia, although only 24% already undertook some preparations for

their return. Furthermore, in Appendix II, we also examined the relationship between respondent average length of stay abroad and their intention to go back to Ethiopia. The result reveals that the average length of stay doesn't significantly differ between those who reported intention to return into Ethiopia and those who didn't ($p > 0,05$).

Table 5: Intention to return back to Ethiopia

Would you like to return permanently to Ethiopia in the future?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	31	41,3
No	28	37,3
I don't know yet	13	17,3
Missing	3	4
Total	75	100
Have you made any preparation to return into Ethiopia? (for those who want to move into Ethiopia)	-	-
No intention to return into Ethiopia	28	37,3
Yes, I made preparation	18	24
No, I didn't made any preparation	13	17,3
I don't know yet	13	17,3
Missing	3	4
Total	75	100

Respondents were also asked for specific reasons for the intention to return into Ethiopia (for those who want to return) as well as for their reasons for staying in the host country (for those who didn't plan to return into Ethiopia). The responses were diverse. However, to start business in Ethiopia, to help their families and relatives who are living in Ethiopia, to contribute for the society in Ethiopia, to encourage economic growth of Ethiopia through participating in investment, to support the 2018 political transformation and to contribute home country development through sharing their knowledge and skills. Beside these, respondents in an open question replied other type of reasons such as retirement, absence of feeling of belongingness in the host country, and to nurture their children's according to Ethiopian culture and tradition as additional reasons. Moreover, one respondent emphasized transnationalism as best option rather than returning into Ethiopia in permanent basis, "I feel like I'm a global citizen that have a strong tie to my birthplace Ethiopia and the host country in which I developed my professional identity. So therefore, it will be beneficial to navigate both countries, no need to return permanently".

On the contrary, we also asked respondents for their purpose of staying in the host country (for those who had no plan to return into Ethiopia). In an open question respondent

listed adopting good standard of living and quality of life in host country, fear of complication to live in Ethiopia (related to holding foreign citizenship), absence of work ethics in government offices in the country, lack of trust in Ethiopian government and uncertainty of government policies, difficulty to integrate in Ethiopia (for example to find job), political instability, ethnic conflict, absence of rule of law in the country, corruption, nepotism and security issues in Ethiopia, to continue education in the host country and health issues as reasons not to return into Ethiopia. At the same time one respondent replied interesting reason for his/her staying abroad, “the profession that I am currently engaged can’t be accepted in Ethiopia and has a lot of stigma related to it “.

5.2.2. Perceived integration in host country and identity perception

This section provides results on the perception of respondents in relation to how they described their integration in the host country where they live. The results in Table 6 reveal optimistic views of respondents regarding the perception of their integration in the host country. They feel generally well-integrated in the host country and they also think that other Ethiopians abroad do well in the host country. However, as we can see from the comparison of mean scores in Table 6, the results show slight difference; the respondents who participated in this research feel that they are slightly better integrated compared to what they think about the integration of their peers.

Table 6: Perception of integration in host country

Name of variables	1. Strongly agree	2. Somewhat agree (N)	3. Neither agree nor disagree (N)	4. Somewhat disagree (N)	5. Strongly disagree (N)	Mean
I feel well integrated in the host country where I live in	32	32	4	3	1	1,7
Ethiopian emigrants mostly do well in the host country	12	33	14	12	1	2,4

Note: 4% of respondent responses is missing in the above table 6.

We were also interested in whether the perceived integration differs with the self-reported economic status of respondents and their length of stay in host country. Prior to that it is necessary to present the socio-economic characteristics of respondents. So therefore, Table 7 show that 44% of them reported their economic status in the host country as average, while even more respondents (47%) considered their status to be above the average or significantly higher. It suggests that the perceived economic integration of respondents in the sample is generally good.

Table 7: Self-reported economic status in host country

Self-reported economic status	Frequency	Percent
Significantly higher	14	19
Above average	21	28
Average	33	44
Below average	4	5
Missing	3	4
Total	75	100

Table 8 shows the relationships of the perceived integration of respondents with their level of self-reported economic status and also with the average length of stay in the host country. We found a statistically significant relationship between the perceived integration and length of stay ($p < 0.001$) meaning that those respondents who feels well integrated in host country lived abroad on average longer time. On the other hand, we didn't find any statistically significant relationship between the perceived integration and self-reported economic status.

Table 8: Relationship between perceived integration of respondents with their level of economic status and average length of stay in the host country

Categories of perceived integration (I feel well integrated in the host country where I live in);	1. Strongly agree	2. Somewhat agree	3. Neither agree nor disagree	4. Somewhat disagree	5. Strongly disagree	Mean
Average length of stay abroad (years)	16	11	7	5	10	13
Self-reported level of economic status	2	2,6	2,8	3,7	2	2,4

(average of categories at 5-point scale)						
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Table 9 provides reflection of respondents' opinions in relation with how they describe their identity and their opinions on the identity perception of other Ethiopians. It shows that respondents in diaspora generally feel that they do maintain their Ethiopian identity. In their opinion, the same also holds for the other Ethiopians abroad that they are familiar with. At the same time, most of the respondents who answered this question agreed that Ethiopian diasporas should maintain and cultivate their national identity when abroad. Interestingly, the opinions of respondents were diverse with respect to the statement that "Immigrants from Ethiopia that I know identify themselves based on their ethnicity rather than Ethiopian nationality". It suggests that they differentiate these two aspects, i.e. both national and ethnic identities are important but distinct sources of identity perceptions for Ethiopians abroad. In addition, results reported in two bottom rows of Table 9 indicate that there is rather an agreement with respect to the normative opinion on the appropriateness of identity cultivation. However, this is somewhat less true with respect to the ethnic identity where 30% of respondents either strongly or somewhat disagreed with the statement that Ethiopians abroad should maintain and cultivate their ethnic identity.

Table 9: Identity perception of respondents

Name of variables	1. Strongly agree (N)	2. Somewhat agree (N)	3. Neither agree nor disagree (N)	4. Somewhat disagree (N)	5. Strongly disagree (N)	Mean
Even if I am immigrant, I still maintain my Ethiopian identity	45	23	1	1	2	1,5
Immigrants from Ethiopia that I know do maintain their Ethiopian identity	32	25	8	6	1	1,9
Immigrants from Ethiopia that I know identify themselves based on their ethnicity rather than Ethiopian nationality	6	24	15	13	14	3,1

Ethiopians living abroad maintain and cultivate their national identity	21	31	15	2	3	2,1
Ethiopian living abroad should maintain and cultivate their ethnic identity	23	13	15	7	14	2,7

Note: 4% responses were missing in the above Table 9.

5.2.3. The connection with Ethiopia and contribution to home country

This section focuses on the respondents' linkages to Ethiopia and on their contribution to home country development. We examine their connection with Ethiopia by exploring the frequency of contact with their families and relatives who are living in Ethiopia as well as the frequency of visits to Ethiopia. As presented below in Table 10, respondents who participated in this research tend to keep relatively intense contact and meet their families and relatives who are living in Ethiopia, through frequent communication in weekly or daily basis, through trip to Ethiopia as well as through meeting other Ethiopians in the host country.

In addition, we were also interested in examining whether the reported linkages to Ethiopia associate with the length of stay in the host country. We found that those respondents who stayed longer abroad revealed on average less intense contacts with their families or relatives in Ethiopia ($p < 0.05$). On the other hand, we didn't find any significant relationship between the average length of stay abroad and the frequency of trips to Ethiopia or with the frequency of meeting other Ethiopians in the host country.

Table 10: The connection with Ethiopia

Frequency of communication with families/ relatives in Ethiopia	Frequency	Percent	Average length of stay abroad (years)
Daily	21	28	9
Weekly	32	43	11
Less than on monthly basis	4	5	16
Monthly	14	19	19
Almost never	1	1	25
Missing	3	4	-
Total	75	100	13
Frequency trip to Ethiopia	-	-	-
Very frequently (less than 1 year)	3	4	12
Every 1 year	21	28	10
Every 2 year	12	16	9
Every 3 years	9	12	16
Every 4 years	3	4	11
Every 5 years	2	3	20
Not frequently	10	13	19
Never	10	13	14
Missing	5	7	-
Total	75	100	13
Frequency of meeting other Ethiopians in the host country	-	-	-
Very frequently, daily	17	23	11
On weekly basis or so	23	31	12
On monthly basis or so	11	15	17
Occasionally	17	22	14
Almost never	4	5	9
Missing	3	4	-
Total	75	100	13

Table 11 shows findings on the reported remittances to Ethiopia. It indicates that 33% of respondents send money to their families in Ethiopia on a regular basis and another 31% occasionally. By contrast, only 7% of them have never sent any money to their families in Ethiopia. At the same time, the majority respondents (68%) have regularly or sometimes sent in-kind remittance such as consumer goods, medicines, electronics etc. to their families in Ethiopia. In addition, a similar share of respondents (66%) reported regular or occasional transfer of social remittances such as sharing their, ideas, practices and skills.

Table 11: The type of remittances that diaspora sending into Ethiopia and motivation to remit

The type of remittances sending to relatives in Ethiopia	Never (N)	Rarely (N)	Sometimes (N)	Regularly (N)
Money	7%, (5)	25%, (19)	31%, (23)	33%, (25)
In-kind remittances (e.g. consumer goods, medicine, electronics etc)	12%, (9)	16%, (12)	52%, (39)	16%, (12)
Sharing ideas, practices and skills	9%, (7)	20%, (15)	47%, (35)	19%, (14)

Note: 4% of responses in the first two rows and 5% in the last row were missing in the above Table 11.

We also examined the association between the reported remittances and other variables such as the perceived integration of respondents, frequency of communication, and their length of stay in host country. Therefore, Table 12 shows that there is no significant relationship between respondents in terms of their frequency of sending remittances with how they reported their integration in the host country as well as their length of stay in the host country. On the other hand, we found a significant difference between respondents in relation with the type of remittances they send to Ethiopia and their frequency of communication with their families in Ethiopia. Those respondents who send in-kind remittances to their families in Ethiopia communicate with their families more frequently than those who didn't.

Table 12: The association between remittances and perceived integration of respondents, length of stay in host country as well as frequency of communication to Ethiopia

The type of remittance (s) sending to relatives or friends in Ethiopia:	I feel well integrated in the host country where I live in (p-value)	Frequency communication with families/ relatives in Ethiopia (p-value)	Average length of stay abroad (p-value)
Money	0,5	0,4	0,6
In-kind remittances	0,2	0,003	0,5
Sharing ideas, practices and skills	0,1	0,2	0,3

Furthermore, Table 13 also provides some information on the motivations of respondents to remit. The table was constructed based on the classification of responses obtained from an open question to a few types. It shows that the most frequently reported motive was to help to their families and relatives who are living in Ethiopia.

Table 13: Motivation to remit

Do you provide or contribute one or more of the above type of remittances listed above? if so, please discuss the motivation to remit?	Frequency	Percent
To help families and relatives who are living in Ethiopia	33	44
To contribute for the economic growth of my home country through remittance/ to cover the educational expense of my families in Ethiopia	12	16
To improve the health condition of families who live in Ethiopia through sending medicine from abroad	6	8
For holiday celebrations/ to build private houses	4	5
To encourage the development of Ethiopia through sharing knowledge and skill/ to help 2018 political transformation in Ethiopia	2	3
Never send remittance (s)	4	5
Missing	14	19
Total	75	100

Respondents were also asked about their involvement in development projects in Ethiopia. However, relatively few respondents reported such activity. In around 12 cases, 7 respondents were involved in real estate projects, three respondents mentioned the construction of private houses in Ethiopia and two of them short term visits to provide professional trainings.

In addition, we also studied the respondents' awareness about the civic society/ groups that support Ethiopian diasporas in regards to their activities influencing

development changes in Ethiopia. The majority of respondents (73%) were not aware about any such organization. Other respondents mentioned various examples such as the Rotary club, Ethiopian Statistical Association, or Open-Heart Big Dream fund (an NGO facilitating funds for financing development projects in Ethiopia). One respondent also mentioned support for diaspora mass media at this point. The relatively low awareness and engagement with the organized (institutionalized) support of the home country might come as a surprise.

In relation to previous question, respondents were asked about their willingness to contribute to the Ethiopian Diaspora Trust Fund (EDTF) that the Ethiopian government introduced in 2018. The 37% of diaspora respondents who participated in this research would consider contribution of the minimum amount of money (1 USD), while 25% of them would consider the contribution of more than 1 USD. The reported reasons were to encourage development in Ethiopia, to address the society's social problem in Ethiopia and to support the 2018 political transformation in the country. On the contrary, lack of trust is described as the most frequent reason for not considering contribution for EDTF. In the open question on this some of the participants explained that they are unsure about the purpose and implementation of the projects through this fund. This scepticism is based on the experience with earlier projects such as the Ethiopian Renaissance dam which was not completed according to the schedule. There were also concerns about the transparency of how and when exactly the supported projects will be accomplished so they would prefer to wait and see whether there will be any fundamental changes in the country before the contribution. The following citations, provide some illustrations:

“Before I start contributing, I want to know the money will go to the right beneficiaries.

“I don't trust the government officials, they are extremely corrupted, without fighting corruption in the country asking for money from diaspora is hypocritical. “

5.3 Migration-related characteristics of the sub-sample of respondents who live in Ethiopia

5.3.1. Migration experience

In this section we present various migration-related characteristics for the subsample of respondents from Ethiopia. The results show that the majority respondents from Ethiopia (84%) have no experience with living out of Ethiopia. However, they often have an indirect

experience as the 76% of them reported that someone from their close family has stayed abroad.

The majority respondents (66%) didn't plan to emigrate from Ethiopia, while the rest reported such intention. In the responses on an open question, 21% of respondents (i.e. the majority of those who reported the intention) mentioned economic reasons for their intention to emigrate from Ethiopia. It includes the absence of job opportunity in Ethiopia or for better work opportunity abroad, high inflation in the country, for better salary and job opportunity, searching for better quality of life as well as lack of equal and fair opportunity for all Ethiopian citizens in the country.

5.3.2. Receiving of remittances from abroad

Interestingly, the results in Table 14 show that of the three types of remittances, respondents living in Ethiopia most often admitted that they receive social remittances in terms of new ideas, practices and skills. This option was reported by around 43% of this subsample (receiving on either regular or occasional basis). A somewhat lesser share of them (around 20%) reported the reception of money and in-kind remittances. Table 15 additionally shows that those respondents who receive remittances tend to use these funds for covering their basic consumption, costs of education, to get new ideas skills and knowledge, to improve the health conditions of their families, to start business and for holiday celebrations.

Table 14: The type of remittances that respondents receiving from abroad

Type of remittance	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Regularly
Money	50%	27,4%	19,4%	3,2%
In-kind remittances	40,3%	38,7%	17,7%	3,2%
Sharing ideas, practices and skills	29%	27,4%	25,8%	17,7%

Table 15: The purpose of the remittances

Purpose of remittance:	Frequency	Percent
For basic consumption	17	27
To get new idea and practices/ to cover cost of education expenses	10	16
To start business in Ethiopia	3	5
To improve family health condition through sending medicines from abroad	2	3
For holiday celebration	1	2
Missing	29	47
Total	62	100

5.4 Entire sample (comparison of views respondents from the Ethiopia and those from abroad).

This part of the thesis presents views of the entire sample of respondents regarding the recent Ethiopian development and transformation and regarding the role of diaspora in social, political and economic development of Ethiopia. It also examines opinions on the approaches on how the government in Ethiopia should work with the diaspora. In addition to the presentation of findings obtained for the entire sample, we also confront the views of two sub-groups in terms of the respondents living abroad and in Ethiopia.

5.4.1. Views on Ethiopian development and transformation

Table 16 shows respondents' views on the development in Ethiopia, on the political transformation in the country (since 2018) as well as on the threats of ethnic conflicts. There were diverging views on whether the rapid growth of Ethiopian economy over the past 15 years benefited the poor. The mean category was 3.37 (calculated from the 5-point scale) indicating that somewhat larger share of respondents maintained that the economic growth has not been pro-poor. There were no statistically significant differences between two subgroups with respect to these opinions. Both groups of respondents also generally agreed that the political transformation of Ethiopia in 2018 has been a ground-breaking change of the country for the better. However, they also generally believe that future development of Ethiopia will be affected by ethnic conflict.

Table 16: Views on Ethiopian development and transformation

Name of variables	1. Strongly agree (N)	2. Somewhat agree (N)	3. Neither agree nor disagree (N)	4. Somewhat disagree (N)	5. Strongly disagree (N)	Mean (of numbered categories)	Difference between subsamples (p-value)
Ethiopian economy over the past 15 years has benefited the poor							0,8
Subsample of respondent from Ethiopia	1	23	5	16	17	3,40	
Subsample of respondent from abroad	7	20	12	12	24	3,35	
Entire sample	8	43	17	28	41	3,37	
The political transformation of Ethiopia in year 2018 has been a ground-breaking change of the country for the better							0,3
Subsample of respondent from Ethiopia	22	26	11	3	-	1,92	
Subsample of respondent from abroad	27	27	13	3	5	2,09	
From the entire sample	49	53	24	6	5	2,01	
Future development of Ethiopia will be affected as a result of ethnicity conflict							0,1
Subsample of respondent from Ethiopia	30	19	3	5	5	1,97	
Subsample of respondent from abroad	39	25	6	5	-	1,69	
From the entire sample	69	44	9	10	5	1,82	

In addition, Table 17 shows that respondents in general have positive attitude towards the current development of Ethiopia particularly, since new prime minister took the office (let us note that the data was collected at the end of 2018 and the beginning of 2019 so the perceptions might have changed since then). Although the mean category scores

indicate that the views of those in Ethiopia were slightly more positive than the views of diaspora respondents, the difference between these subsamples was not statistically significant ($p > 0,05$). Even though respondents generally supported the 2018 political change in Ethiopia, in open question they described some challenges that might hinder these changes. These perceived challenges were the rise of conflict based on ethnicity (increasing of dispute related with boundaries and natural resources) and religion, absence of fundamental changes in the country for example in terms of institutionalizing this changes, absence of involvement of other stakeholders (for instance limited number of strong opposition parties in the country), high expectation and dependency on few politicians to make change in Ethiopia, less participation of diasporas and the society in Ethiopia to encourage this change etc. There were also respondents who have apparently pessimistic views on the 2018 political transformation in Ethiopia. Below we provide some of those comments:

“Too early to give comment, but personally I think the new prime minister (Dr. Abiy Ahmed) is not addressing the root causes of the countries problem. He spent too much of his time show casting and building his personal image, so far all we see is super-artificial acts.”

„The present political situation in Ethiopia during Dr. Abiy Ahmed administration lacks substance and clear direction , the country is still in a vicious circle with no direction. „

„ there is no significant change in the country, Dr, Abiy Ahmed introduced some bold reforms, he ignore or undermine major issues in the country (ethnic conflicts), he assigned in his cabinet unqualified people related to efficiency (lack of experience in the area where they were appointed) etc.“

Table 17: Views on the current development of Ethiopia (“How would you describe the current development of Ethiopia? especially, since the new prime minister (Dr. Abiy Ahmed) took the office”)

Name of variables	1. Very positive	2. Somewhat positive	3. Neither positive nor negative	4. Somewhat negative	5. Very negative	Mean category
Subsample of respondent from Ethiopia	14	40	1	3	2	2,03
Subsample of respondent from abroad	18	31	2	8	4	2,14
Entire sample	32	71	3	11	6	2,09

5.4.2. Views on the role of diaspora in Ethiopia

Table 18 shows that respondents in general regard the impact of diaspora on different aspects of Ethiopian situation as important. It holds for the views on the diaspora role with respect to the economic development, politics as well as ethnic tensions. Interestingly, the impact of diaspora was acknowledged similarly by both subsamples. One exception were the opinions on the contribution of diaspora to economic development that was significantly stronger ($p = 0.01$) for the subgroups of those from abroad. The respondents also agree that Ethiopian diaspora provide contribution (aid) to address social problems in Ethiopia, while this opinion was on average somewhat stronger for diaspora respondents (though the difference between sub-samples was not statistically significant). Similarly, both subgroups of respondents generally agreed that currently Ethiopian government encourage Ethiopian diaspora to return, invest and support their native land. However, this opinion was significantly stronger ($p < 0,01$) for those in Ethiopia.

Table 18: Views on the role of diaspora

Views on the role of diaspora	1. Strongly agree	2. Somewhat agree	3. Neither agree nor disagree	4. Somewhat disagree	5. Strongly disagree	Mean	(p-value)
Ethiopian diasporas play important role on the economic development of Ethiopia							
Subsample of respondent from Ethiopia	24	28	5	2	3	1,90	0,01
Subsample of respondent from abroad	44	24	6	1	-	1,52	
Entire sample	68	52	11	3	3	1,69	
Ethiopian diaspora have significant influence on the politics of Ethiopia							
Subsample of respondent from Ethiopia	17	33	5	5	2	2,06	0,2
Subsample of respondent from abroad	31	30	10	2	2	1,85	
Entire sample	48	63	15	7	4	1,95	
Ethiopian diaspora has an impact on the current ethnic tension in Ethiopia							
Subsample of respondent from Ethiopia	23	26	9	3	1	1,92	0,4
Subsample of respondent from abroad	38	24	7	3	3	1,79	
Entire sample	61	50	16	6	4	1,85	
Ethiopian diaspora provides contribution (aid) to address social problems in Ethiopia							
Subsample of respondent from Ethiopia	11	29	16	5	1	2,29	0,2
Subsample of respondent from abroad	23	34	11	5	2	2,05	
Entire sample	34	63	27	10	3	2,16	
Currently, Ethiopian government encourage Ethiopian diasporas to return, invest and support their native land							
Subsample of respondent from Ethiopia	45	15	1	1	-	1,32	0,00
Subsample of respondent from abroad	32	27	9	6	1	1,89	
Entire sample	77	42	10	7	1	1,64	

Furthermore, the next Table 19 shows that the majority of respondents from the entire sample listed bureaucracy as the major barriers that discourage Ethiopian diasporas from participating in the development process in Ethiopia. In addition, in an open question respondent listed other reasons such as absence of unity and patriotism among diaspora communities, lack of information, poor infrastructure in Ethiopia, absence of dual citizenship, high import tax etc.

Table 19: The major barriers that discourage Ethiopian diaspora from participating in the development process in Ethiopia

Major barriers discouraging Ethiopian diasporas from participating in the development process in Ethiopia	Frequency	Percent
Bureaucracy	41	30
Lack of trust and / or corruption	30	22
Absence of good governance and /or rule of laws	28	20
Ethnic conflicts and security concerns	19	14
Other	12	9
Missing	7	5
Total	137	100

5.4.3. Views on the role of Ethiopian government

Table 20 shows that respondents generally agreed that the Ethiopian government should consider measures for encouraging the contribution of diaspora as a priority. Interestingly, views of those in Ethiopia on the role of these measures were generally stronger (i.e. more supportive) than for the diaspora respondents themselves.

Table 20: views on the role of government

Name of variables	1. The highest priority	2. The second priority	3. The third priority	4. The fourth priority	5. The lowest priority	Mean	Difference between subsamples (p-value)
Through formal, structured and facilitative engagement with diaspora organization and individuals							0,002
Subsample of respondent from Ethiopia	35	21	5	1	-	1,55	
Subsample of respondent from abroad	29	25	12	3	6	2,09	
Entire sample	64	46	17	4	6	1,85	
Through practical actions to increase the volume and impact of diaspora remittances and investment (for example Diaspora Trust Fund)							0,01
Subsample of respondent from Ethiopia	37	14	8	3	-	1,63	
Subsample of respondent from abroad	29	24	12	7	3	2,08	
Entire sample	66	38	20	10	3	1,88	
Through protection of vulnerable migrants and negotiation of schemes for migration							0,4
Subsample of respondent from Ethiopia	25	20	9	6	2	2,03	
Subsample of respondent from abroad	31	18	13	6	7	2,20	
Entire sample	56	38	22	12	9	2,12	
Create effective ways for the diasporas to practically participate in national policy making and local development activities							0,8
Subsample of respondent	27	15	13	3	4	2,06	

from Ethiopia							
Subsample of respondent from abroad	36	16	8	8	7	2,12	
Entire sample	63	31	21	11	11	2,09	

Apart from the above four approaches listed above, Table 21 shows other additional efforts that should be done as a means of working with Ethiopian diasporas according to our respondents. Strengthening the relationship between Ethiopian diasporas and the government in Ethiopia to build trust (for example through communication) is mentioned very often by respondents.

Table 21: Additional approaches that should be done by the Ethiopian government to strengthen ties with the diaspora

Additional approaches that should be done by the Ethiopian government to strengthen ties with the diaspora	Frequency	Percent
Strengthening the relationship between Ethiopian diasporas and the government in Ethiopia to build trust (for example through communication)	15	10,9
Allowing dual citizenship / providing incentives	14	10,2
Implementing system of good governance and rule of law in Ethiopia	13	9,5
Improving the service of Ethiopian embassies abroad / gathering well organized information about Ethiopian diasporas.	13	9,5
Encouraging Ethiopian diaspora to participate in the economy, social and politics in Ethiopia.	12	8,8
Implementing mechanism to tap diaspora knowledge transfer in Ethiopia	10	7,3
Decreasing bureaucracy in Ethiopia	8	5,8
Creating mechanism to encourage diaspora participating in economic sector in Ethiopia	7	5,1
Decreasing corruption and beruacracy in Ethiopia	6	4,4
Providing integration program in Ethiopia for returnee diasporas in Ethiopia	2	1,5
Improving infrastructure and technology in Ethiopia	1	0,7
Missing	36	26,3
Total	137	100

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This diploma thesis examined various issues related to international migration from Ethiopia. The focus was on more general aspects such as the migration and integration experience of Ethiopians living abroad and migration intentions of those staying in Ethiopia. However, a major part of this research was situated into the context of recent political transformation of Ethiopia (including the efforts of government to engage diaspora for development) but also increasing ethnic tensions in the country (not unrelated to the political transformation). In this respect, the thesis examined the perceived developmental contribution of Ethiopian diasporas and also views on the role of diaspora in the recent political transformation of the country. One intention within this effort was to compare the views of Ethiopians staying abroad with the comparable group of those staying in Ethiopia.

The findings indicated that the actual development contribution of diaspora (as reported by respondents themselves) to socioeconomic development has been rather limited, particularly with regards to its institutionalized forms. Only 12 of the 75 diaspora respondents admitted their participation in development projects in their home country, mostly in real estate sector. In addition, only six respondents were active in the civic associations or organizations that encourage activities of Ethiopian diasporas to support development changes in Ethiopia. One explanation of this limited contribution may be the lack of economic resources, but the great majority of diaspora respondents considered their economic situation in host countries as above the average or average. On the other hand, around 60% of the diaspora respondents expressed willingness to contribute to EDTF, while about 90% of these respondents were aware about the introduction of this fund. This result shows that diasporas initiation to contribute for the political transformation in which this fund is introduced by the prime minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed. Bureaucracy was seen as a major barrier that discourage Ethiopian diasporas from investing and participating in the development process in Ethiopia followed by the lack of trust in government and other reasons. Therefore, responsible groups including the Ethiopian government should work on building trust in EDTF. The diaspora willingness to contribute to the home country was apparent and also the reception of changes in home country including the new prime minister has been generally positive. It was also seen, for example, during interactions between Ethiopian prime minister and diaspora during his visits to the USA and Europe.

The limited involvement of diaspora in more formal investment activities to Ethiopia and institutionalized forms of engagement may be compensated by their personal engagement through family networks. This research showed that the majority of diaspora respondents provide remittances to their relatives in Ethiopia on regular or occasional basis. Interestingly, in addition to financial remittances, the majority of respondents also admitted that they transfer in-kind remittances (around 70% on regular or occasional basis) and social remittances in terms of sharing skills and practices (again around 70% of respondents). It may be related that the respondents in the sample were relatively well educated and well-off with respect to what they reported about both their actual situation in the host countries and about the economic status of their families in Ethiopia before migration. An implication of these results is that the Ethiopian government and other institutions should tap the positive contribution of remittances that the Ethiopian diasporas transferring into their families or relatives in Ethiopia. It may be done, for example, through provide incentives for those diasporas who send remittances in formal way (through banks) as well as through improving financial services for instance using advanced technologies and increasing accessibilities of banks especially in rural parts of Ethiopia.

The findings on remittances are also probably related to the finding that diaspora respondents tend to keep relatively intense personal contacts with their home country. This was documented by the reported frequent communication with relatives in Ethiopia, trips to Ethiopia as well as through meeting other Ethiopians in the host country. At the same time, an expectable relationship was confirmed that those respondents who stayed abroad on average longer tend decrease their contact with families in Ethiopia.

The actual position of diaspora towards investments into Ethiopian development may also be influenced by their views on the Ethiopia's past development. In this respect, we asked respondents whether they regard the rapid economic growth (over the past 15 years) in Ethiopia as benefiting the poor. The views of respondents were divergent, but slightly higher share of them expressed opinion that the economic growth has not benefited the poor. This perception thus critically accentuates the aspect of inequality and unequal development in Ethiopia. Even though there was rapid economic growth over the past years in Ethiopia. I argue that there is increasing of inequality between the poor and rich people in the country as well as unfair distribution of resources between regions. The government was criticized favouring one ethnic groups (Tigray) and those who support TPLF. Corruption and bribe seem norm in government offices in Ethiopia.

Beside addressing the developmental contribution of Ethiopian diasporas in Ethiopia, this research explored the migration and integration experience of diaspora respondents as well as the migration intentions of those staying in Ethiopia. A little less than half of diaspora respondents who participated in this research were already granted the citizenship of host country. Most of them left from Ethiopia to study abroad, while economic and political reasons were also represented but less frequent as the main reported motivations. These reasons may, nevertheless, be more important for not returning. In our sample, similar share of respondents (around 40%) reported intention not to return and to return, while the rest was undecided. Of those who expressed plans to return, almost 80% have not made any preparations yet. It suggests that the majority of respondents will never return. The quality of life in host country was the most frequently reported reasons among other more diverse responses. These findings documents brain drain from Ethiopia whereas illustrating earlier evidence on this process in Ethiopia (e.g. Kimani 2009 cited in Adayemi et al. 2018). The general development of Ethiopia including the improvement in the quality of education in Ethiopia, and the development of adequate job opportunities would prevent further brain drain. In short term perspective, government may also try to address this problem by offering incentives for those international students who would return back to Ethiopia, strengthen the relationship with students abroad etc. These findings on the rather small probability of emigrants to return also further signify the importance of the already mentioned strategies to strengthen and utilize diaspora resources.

At the same time, this research also reveals intention of migration from Ethiopia (for those participants who lived in Ethiopia). The majority of them didn't plan to emigrate from Ethiopia. On the other hand, most of them reported that they have close families in the overseas. This result shows that the participants have indirectly relationship with migration by their migrant families. For example, they may exchange information through communication technology as well as receiving remittance from abroad. Even though the majority of respondents didn't want to emigrate, the absence of job opportunity in Ethiopia, high inflation rate or the quality of life were reasons listed by those participants who wanted to emigrate from Ethiopia. Participants mentioned employment opportunity among push factors to emigrate from Ethiopia. Therefore, the Ethiopian government should implement legal agreements with host countries where there is high demand of labour force. For instance, due to proximity and job opportunity to Gulf states, the recent emigration from Ethiopia should be supported by Ethiopian government. For instance, by establishing

government agencies in Ethiopia to make legal employment agreement between employees and those who want to be employed in Arab countries, though providing language (Arabic) and other training courses for emigrants before migration, applying rule of law for traffickers and smugglers in Ethiopia etc.

This research also provided some evidence on the integration of diaspora respondents in the host country. The respondents themselves were generally satisfied in this respect. They felt generally well-integrated they also reported that other Ethiopians they do know abroad do well. These findings may be influenced by the way how the sample was constructed. It is related to the fact that it contained relatively educated respondents whose families had mostly been comparatively well of before their migration when in Ethiopia.

Furthermore, in this research we also explored reflection of respondent opinions in relation with how they describe their identity and their opinions on the identity perception of other Ethiopians. The results showed that respondents in diaspora generally feel that they do maintain their Ethiopian identity, and the same holds (in their opinion) for other Ethiopians abroad that they are familiar with. At the same time, most of the respondents who answered this question agreed that Ethiopian diasporas should maintain and cultivate their national identity when abroad. Interestingly, the opinions of respondents were diverse with respect to the statement “immigrants from Ethiopia that I know identify themselves based on their ethnicity rather than Ethiopian nationality”. It suggests that they differentiate these two aspects, i.e. both national and ethnic identities are important but distinct sources of identity perceptions for Ethiopians abroad. However, with respect to the ethnic identity where 30% of respondents either strongly or somewhat disagreed with the statement that Ethiopians abroad should maintain and cultivate their ethnic identity. These findings somewhat differ from results obtained in a study by Cherenet (2014) who found out that Ethiopian diaspora prefer to identify themselves by their nationality (from the total of 225 respondents, 312 identified themselves by their nationality, 7 respondents by their ethnic identity and 6 by their religious identity). Based on my result I argue that Ethiopian identity as well as ethnic identity is important and need to be acknowledged. Recognition of both identities can decrease and smoothen ethnicity related issues among Ethiopian diasporas abroad as well as in Ethiopia. Furthermore, it can also help to negotiate between political narratives of Ethiopian diasporas (federalist, pan-Ethiopianist and secessionist) in fair and equal way. The above result also shows that diaspora respondents who participated in this research were neither Pan-Ethiopianist nor secessionist diasporas (the classification of

Ethiopian diaspora mentioned in theoretical part), they rather can be categorized as federalist diasporas, they believe that both national as well as Ethnic identity is important.

This study was situated in the context of the ongoing political transformation of Ethiopia (since 2018) and it sought to explore the opinions of respondents on this. Both subgroups of respondents revealed generally optimistic views. They far more often than not believe that the transformation has been a tremendous change for the better. However, those respondents from Ethiopia were more optimistic than those from abroad. These observations clearly demonstrate a radical shift in the relationship between Ethiopian diasporas and the government in Ethiopia. Before this transformation most of diasporas in North America as well as Europe were known by their demonstration against the Ethiopian government. At the same time before Dr. Abiy Ahmed took the power the previous prime minister has negative view about diaspora. Despite the general optimism about the recent development, respondents described possible challenges that might hinder these changes such as the rise of conflict based on ethnicity and religion, absence of fundamental changes in the country for example in terms of institutionalizing this changes, absence of involvement of other stakeholders (for instance limited number of strong opposition parties in the country), high expectation and dependency on few politicians to make change in Ethiopia, less participation of diasporas and the society in Ethiopia to encourage this change etc.

The data collection took place at the end of 2018. It should be this added that situation in Ethiopia has not significantly improved since then in regard to most of these challenges and, in particular, to ethnic tensions in the country. For the present Ethnic conflict in Ethiopia inequality among each ethnic group in Ethiopia can be mentioned as one factor together with.

Lastly, this research reveals that both sub-group of respondents in general have positive attitude towards the positive role of Ethiopian diaspora in relation with their role to improve economic, social as well as the politics of home country. They also believe that at present, Ethiopian government encourage diasporas to return, invest and support their countries of origin. However, both sub-group of respondents reflected similar opinion in terms of their negative role in Ethiopia. They believe that Ethiopian diasporas are also contributing for the ethnic tension in Ethiopia. This result implies that the respondents especially those from Ethiopia perception of diasporas, even if the government criticizing Ethiopia diasporas in negative way especially before the recent transformation in Ethiopia,

the society didn't trust the Ethiopian government claims. This is supported by also another similar result finding in this research. Both sub-group of respondents also believe that Ethiopian government should consider measures for encouraging the contribution of diasporas as a priority. Interestingly, those respondents who were living in Ethiopia were strongly agree on the previous sentence than diaspora respondent. In open question respondents listed very often improving the relationship between diaspora and the Ethiopia government in Ethiopia as an effort that should be done by the Ethiopian government to strengthen ties with the diaspora.

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Appendix I

Table 1: Basic demographic, Socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics of respondents for both sub-groups (N=137).

Name of variables	Statistics
Self-reported level of economic status:	
Average	50,4 %
Above average	27 %
Significantly higher	10,2 %
Below average	10,2 %
Missing	2,2 %
Native language:	
Amharic	83,9 %
Afan Oromo/ Amaric, Guragigna and English	6,6 %
Afan Oromo	5,1 %
Amharic/ Tigerigna / Afan Oromo, Agewigna, Somaligna and Kambatigna	2,8 %

Appendix II

Table 2: Socio-economic characteristics of Sub-sample of diaspora respondents (N=75)

How would you compare your current quality of life compared to that, when you lived in Ethiopia?	Frequency	Percent
Significantly higher	35	46,7
Above average	21	28
Average	11	14,7
Below average	5	6,7
Missing	3	4
Total	75	100
How do you level the economic status of your family in Ethiopia before you emigrate?	-	-
Average	29	39
Above average	27	36
Significantly higher	9	12
Below average	7	9
Missing	3	4
Total	75	100

Table 3: Current country of residence

Country of residence	Frequency	Percent
USA	41	54,7
Norway	8	10,7
Canada	6	8
Czechia	5	6,7
Germany	4	5,2
Finland	3	4

Italy	2	2,7
Remaining countries (Turkey, Sweden, China, South Africa, New Zealand, Singapore)	6	8
Total	75	100

Table 4: The relationship between average length of stay abroad and intention to return into Ethiopia

Intention to return to Ethiopia	Average length of stay abroad (p-value)
Yes, I want to return into Ethiopia	0,5
No, I don't want to return into Ethiopia	
I don't know yet	

Table 5: The type of media used to get information about Ethiopia

Which media/network do you use/visit to get information or update yourself about Ethiopia?	Frequency	Percent
Facebook /twitter / youtube	31	41,3
ESAT/ EBC	14	18,7
Z-habesha/ abbay media/ OMN	9	12
ESAT/ VOA/ BBC/ Reuters	6	8
Gathering information by telephone from families who are living in Ethiopia	1	1,3
Other	11	14,7
Missing	3	4
Total	75	100

Appendix III

Table 6: Socio economic and migration-related characteristics of Sub-sample of respondents from Ethiopia (N=62)

How would you level your quality of life compared to the average quality of life in Addis Ababa?	Frequency	Percent
Average	39	62,9
Above average	12	19,4
Below average	10	16,1
Significantly lower	1	1,6
Total	62	100
If you are planning to emigrate from Ethiopia, "have you made any preparation for this move"?	-	-
No	49	79
Yes	13	21
Total	62	100

Appendix IV

Questionnaires that we were prepared for both sub-groups of respondents (those respondents who live in Ethiopia and those from abroad)

Greetings!

My name is Hirut Assefa, I am a master's degree candidates at Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic in geography department (Global migration and development studies). I am currently working on my thesis on the roles and views of Ethiopian Diasporas in regards to the current Ethiopian development. Kindly, please fill out the questionnaire and all the response given by you will be kept confidential and used for academic purposes only. Thank you for your time.

Instructions: Please choose your answer by checking the inside box , or write your answers in the space provided.

Basic demographic, socioeconomic, and sociocultural characteristics

1) Sex: F M

2) Age:

3) Current country of residence:

4) Place of birth:

5) Native language:

6) Your marital status?

Married

Divorced

Single

In a relationship

Other, please list your marital status below

7) Do you have any children?

- No
- Yes, they live with me
- Yes, at least one of them live in different country than me
- Other, please specify below

8) Religion:

- Catholic
- Protestant
- Orthodox
- Muslim
- Atheist
- Other, please specify

9) Your Current occupation:

10) How would you describe your job?

- Unskilled or low-skilled work
- Mid-level supervisory work
- Highly skilled, professional work
- Other; please describe the nature of your work

11) Educational attainment:

- Primary
- Secondary
- Vocational and higher education

Bachelor or equivalent

Masters or equivalent

Doctorate or equivalent

Opinions on Ethiopian development

12) Please check the boxes that applies to the statement listed.

Name of variables	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
Ethiopian economy over past 15 years has benefited the poor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Political transformation of Ethiopia in Year 2018 has been a ground-breaking change of the country for better.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Future development of Ethiopia will be affected as a result of ethnicity conflict.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13) How would you describe the current development of Ethiopia? Especially, since the new prime minster (Dr. Abiy Ahmed) took the office. Do you think he has made changes to the country or else he is leading Ethiopia and the people to the right direction? Please respond briefly.

14) What do you think is the major barrier(s) that discourage Ethiopian Diasporas from participating in the development process in Ethiopia?

Opinions on the role of diaspora

15) Please check the boxes that applies to the statement listed

Name of variables	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
Ethiopian diaspora plays potential roles on the economic development of Ethiopia.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ethiopian diaspora has important influence on Ethiopian politics	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ethiopian diaspora has contributed to ethnic tensions in Ethiopia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ethiopians living abroad are willing to provide contributions (aid) to address social and development needs in Ethiopia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Current activities of Ethiopian government encourage Ethiopian diaspora to return, invest and support their native land	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16) How would you rank the following four different approaches proposed on how the Ethiopian government should work with the diasporian?

Name of variables	1 (highest priority)	2	3	4	5 (lowest priority)
Through formal, structured and facilitative engagement with diaspora organisations and individuals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Through practical actions to increase the volume and impact of diaspora remittances and investment (for example Diaspora trust fund)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Through protection of vulnerable migrants and negotiation of schemes for more legal routes for migration	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Create effective ways for the diaspora to practically participate in national policymaking and local development activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17) Apart from the four types of approaches listed above, what other efforts do you think should be done as a means of working with the diaspora?

Appendix V

Questionnaires that we were prepared for Ethiopians who are living abroad

Basic demographic, socioeconomic, and sociocultural characteristics

18) How would you level your economic status in the country where you live in?

- Significantly higher
- Above average
- Average

- Below average
- Significantly lower

19) How would you compare your current quality of life compared to that when you lived in Ethiopia?

- Significantly higher
- Above average
- Average
- Below average
- Significantly lower

20) Compared to average situation in Ethiopia, what was in your opinion the economic status of your family before your emigration?

- Significantly higher
- Above average
- Average
- Below average
- Significantly lower

Migration, integration experience and linkage to Ethiopia

21) How long have you lived outside of Ethiopia?

22) Please explain main reason(s) for your migration from Ethiopia?

23) What is your current status in your country of residence?

- Citizen of the country
- Legal permanent resident
- Legal temporary resident
- Refugee

- Asylum seeker
- Student
- Undocumented migrant
- Other; please state your current residence status:

24) Please try to describe biggest challenges you faced in host country after your immigration?

25) How frequently do you usually communicate with your family/relatives living in Ethiopia?

- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Less than on monthly basis
- Almost never

26) Do you have any close friend(s) in Ethiopia?

- Yes No

27) Frequency trips to Ethiopia?

28) Which media / information channels do you most commonly use to get information about recent news in Ethiopia?

29) How often do you personally meet other Ethiopians (excluding your close family) living in the same country as you?

- Very frequently, daily
- On a weekly basis or so
- On a monthly basis or so

Occasionally

Almost never

30) Choose on the Statement that reflect your opinion/observation.

Name of variables	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagreed	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
I feel well integrated in the host country where I live	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ethiopian emigrants mostly do well in the host countries	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Even if abroad I maintain my Ethiopian identity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Emigrants from Ethiopia that I know do maintain their Ethiopian identity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Emigrants from Ethiopia that I know identify themselves based on their ethnicity rather than Ethiopian nationality	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ethiopians living abroad should maintain and cultivate their Ethiopian identity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ethiopians living abroad should maintain and cultivate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

their ethnic identity					
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Intention to return

31) Would you like to return permanently to Ethiopia in the future, or would you prefer to continue living in the country where you are living now? (If your answer is “Yes” please mention the reason(s)?)

YES NO

32) “If you are planning to return back to Ethiopia, have you made any preparation?”
(Answer only if you plan to return to Ethiopia in the next 12 months)

Yes No

33) If you are not planning to return, what is the reason(s)?

34) The type of remittance(s) that you send to your relatives or friends in Ethiopia

Name of variables	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Regularly
Money sent to Ethiopia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In-kind remittances (e.g. consumer goods, medicine, electronics etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sharing ideas, practices, skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

35) If you provide any type of remittances mentioned above, could you briefly explain why (motivations to remit):

36) Are you personally been involved in any investment or development projects in Ethiopia? Yes No

(If “yes”, please specify the type of investment or development project you have been involved)?

37) Do you know civic society groups or other organizations active to encourage activities of Ethiopian diaspora in the country where you live?

Yes No

If yes, please list the names and your role or type of participation?

38) If you are planning to move to another country please list the reason(s) why you would like to move?

39) Would you personally consider contributing to the recently launched Ethiopian Diaspora Trust Fund?

- No
- I don't know what it is
- I would consider contribution of \$1 a day (minimum amount)
- I would consider contribution of more than \$1 a day

Could you briefly comment on reasons for your response for the above question?

Appendix VI

Questionnaires that we were prepared for Ethiopians who are living in Ethiopia

Socioeconomic characteristics of respondents

40) How would you level your quality of life compared to the average quality of life in Ethiopia?

- Significantly higher
- Above average
- Average

- Below average
- Significantly lower

41) How would you level your economic status compared to the average economic status in Addis Ababa?

- Significantly higher
- Above average
- Average
- Below average
- Significantly lower

Intention to emigrate from Ethiopia

42) Do you have experience with living out of Ethiopia for more than 1 year?

- Yes
- No

43) Does anyone from your relatives stay abroad for more than 6 months?

- Yes
- No

44) If you had the opportunity, would you like to move permanently to another country, or would you prefer living in Ethiopia?

- YES
- NO

45) If you are planning to move, „Have you made any preparation for this move?“

- YES
- NO

46) Why would you like to move from Ethiopia (Answer only if you are planning to move to another country)?

47) If you want to move to another country, which country would you prefer?

48) The type of remittance(s) you or your family receive from abroad:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Regularly
Money sent to Ethiopia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In-kind remittances (e.g. consumer goods, medicine, electronics etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sharing ideas, practices, skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

49) If you receive any type of remittances mentioned above, could you briefly explain how important they are for you (purpose of remittance)?