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Diaspora tourism and the negotiation of belonging: Journeys of young second-generation Eritreans to Eritrea

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Abstract

In this article, I address the diaspora tourism of children of migrants. Based on a case study of second-generation Eritreans, I reveal how journeys to parents' home countries affect the sense of belonging of the second generation. Applying a translocal perspective, I understand diaspora tourism as a translocal phenomenon which is both based on and creates interconnectedness between individuals and places. I illustrate different locally grounded situations and the socio-spatial interconnectedness that second-generation Eritreans experience at various places in the course of their journey in Eritrea. I conclude that diaspora tourism and the associated experiences at the places visited represent crucial identity-establishing events for second-generation Eritreans and influence the negotiation of their belonging and positioning towards both Eritrea and the Eritrean diaspora. This paper contributes to the debate on second generation and belonging by focusing on how localities and socio-spatial interconnectedness affect the negotiation of second-generation Eritreans' belonging.

Keywords

Translocality; second generation; belonging; diaspora tourism; Eritrea, visiting friends and relatives

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Introduction

Although the majority of refugees in 2014 emanated from Syria and Afghanistan, Eritrea plays a prominent role in contemporary refugee and asylum debates. The UN estimates that more than 4,000 Eritreans left their country every month in 2012, and Eritrea today constitutes one of the largest source countries of refugees in both absolute and relative terms (UNHCR 2014, 29-33). Since the turn of the millennium, Eritreans have left their country due to 'intensified political repression and militarization' (Teclé & Goldring 2013, 194). Today, the compulsory and open-ended national service for both women and men constitutes the prime reason to flee the country (cf. Bozzini 2011b; Kibreab 2013). Although refugee flows from Eritrea date back to the 1960s, the reasons for fleeing differ greatly. Up to one million Eritreans found themselves forced to leave their country due to the struggle for independence between 1961 and 1991 (Hepner 2008, 477; HRW 2009, 12; Schmitz-Pranghe 2010, 5). Thus, the Eritrean diaspora consists largely of two generations of arrivals: the old generation that escaped from the struggle for independence and the new generation that flees from the authoritarian Eritrean state. The focus of this study is on the children of the old generation of arrivals, the second-generation Eritreans.

During the 30-year struggle for independence, Eritrean nationalism arose, entailing close relations between the diaspora and Eritrea. Through its transnational economic and political support, the Eritrean diaspora played a vital role in the independence struggle and the subsequent development of Eritrea (cf. Bernal 2006; Conrad 2006; Hepner 2003). Yet, this 'long-distance nationalism' (Anderson 1992) not only developed spontaneously among diaspora members but also was promoted or enforced by the Eritrean liberation fronts and is maintained to this day by the independent Eritrean state (Al-ali et al. 2001; Hepner 2008, 2009; Glatthard 2012). An example of such a transnational interlink was the annually held Bologna Festival¹ organized by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front EPFL. The festival was intended to foster the link between the exiles and their home, to promote Eritrean nationalism, enable the diaspora Eritreans to celebrate their culture and also to function as a kind of 'wedding market' amongst diaspora members (Andall 2002, 396-397; Arnone 2008, 332; Bozzini 2011a, 67; Conrad 2010, 54). The next generation of Eritreans that was born and grew up in this transnational context has generally developed a national consciousness (Zerat 2009, 67). Yet, today the dynamics of Eritrean nationalism and

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3 identity are much more blurred, and new means exist, such as cyberspace, by which
4 Eritreans may debate and revise ‘the national narrative’ (Bernal 2014, 3). Other
5 opportunities for second-generation Eritreans to engage with their roots, their affinity
6 to Eritrea, and their ‘Eritrean-ness’ are presented by journeys to Eritrea. A few studies
7 have discussed journeys of Eritrean youths born and/or raised in the diaspora (cf.
8 Arnone 2011; Conrad 2003, 2006, 2010; Tecele 2012). Their authors focus on how
9 visiting Eritrea may influence ‘Eritrean-ness’ and identity and discuss the role of the
10 Eritrean state and its attempts ‘to institutionalize belonging among young Eritreans
11 born and/or raised in the diaspora’ (Tecele 2012, 44). A prominent example that
12 combines the state’s effort with visiting Eritrea is the Know-Your-Country-Tour
13 [*Zura nHagerka*]. Conrad reveals how second-generation Eritreans who take the tour
14 learn about their country of origin and its history (Conrad 2006, 2010). Further, both
15 Conrad and Tecele depict ‘intra-generational conflicts’ (Tecele 2012, 44) between the
16 second-generation Eritreans and their peers who live in Eritrea. Unequal treatment
17 due to Eritrea’s policy of graduated citizenship, which frees diaspora Eritreans of
18 many of the citizenship duties that Eritreans in Eritrea have to fulfil, may fuel
19 resentments against diaspora Eritreans (Riggan 2013, 87). Such experiences of being
20 disapproved by Eritreans ‘force them [the second-generation Eritreans] to re-negotiate
21 their sense of belonging’ (Conrad 2006, 5).

22
23 The aim of this paper is to uncover the ‘socio-spatial interconnectedness’
24 (Greiner & Sakdapolrak 2013) and experiences of diaspora tourism and to show how
25 these may affect second-generation Eritreans’ sense of belonging and home.
26 Particular focus is laid on visiting local Eritrean as well as diaspora friends and
27 relatives, a central aspect of the second-generation Eritreans’ journeys that has
28 received rather little attention. The central question is this: How do journeys to Eritrea
29 influence second-generation Eritreans, and how do they affect their sense of
30 belonging to Eritrea and their positioning within the translocal social field? Shedding
31 light on the negotiation of belonging by second-generation Eritreans through journeys
32 to Eritrea may contribute to the debate on their long-distance nationalism, their
33 Eritrean identity, and their stance towards the Eritrean state.

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Methodology

I draw my empirical material from participant observation (Spradley 1980, 53-62) and interviews. In the summer of 2014, I accompanied a handful of young diaspora-born

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3 Eritrean women and men, all in their twenties, on a trip to Eritrea. The journey took
4 25 days and involved several family visits to various towns and villages as well as a
5 trip to Massawa on the Red Sea coast to enjoy some holiday feeling. Besides
6 experiencing one specific journey to Eritrea, I gained insights into the journeys of
7 other second-generation Eritreans. During the trip, I noted my experiences, the talks
8 and discussions I attended, and my observations as precisely as possible in a field
9 diary (Spradley 1980, 69-72). As a result of this data collection strategy, my field
10 notes mainly take the form of indirect speech in a rather descriptive manner.
11 Additional data was collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews and casual
12 discussions with sixteen second-generation Eritreans born and/or raised in the
13 diaspora². The interviews were conducted between October 2013 and July 2015 in all
14 parts of Switzerland. Discussions with various second-generation visitors in Eritrea
15 and interviews in Switzerland provided additional data on journeys to Eritrea and
16 served to contextualize the observations from the field trip. This ensured that the
17 coverage of data and the findings reach beyond the journey I accompanied.
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21 I adopted a purposeful sampling strategy for data collection in order to select
22 information-rich cases that provide in-depth insight regarding the research question
23 (cf. Patton 1990), namely journeys to Eritrea and family visits. Additionally to the
24 group I accompanied, the sample includes ten women and six men, whom I selected
25 through mutual social contacts, institutions, and other interviewees. Participants had
26 to exhibit two characteristics: First, they had to be children of the old refugee
27 generation that left Eritrea before the millennium because of the war. Since Eritreans
28 who settled in Switzerland at that time are mainly ethnic Tigrinya (Glatthard 2012,
29 51), the majority of the participants are Tigrinya. Second, they might have been born
30 in Eritrea, but they had to have grown up and undergone the major part of their
31 socialization in the diaspora. Hence, I use the term *second generation* for individuals
32 who are either born or principally raised in the diaspora³. In order to ensure the
33 anonymity of all the research participants, I do not provide additional information on
34 participants and interviews. Second-generation Eritreans in Switzerland are a rather
35 small group, and individuals might easily become identifiable. Further, I use
36 pseudonyms when quoting interviews or citing statements from the field trip.
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Diaspora tourism: a socio-social practice in translocal space

This paper is intended to contribute to the broader debate on belonging in the post-migrant generation by applying a translocal perspective. Belonging involves ‘the desire for some sort of attachment, be it to other people, places or modes of being’ (Probyn 1996, 19). Thus, it has not only a social dimension but also a spatial one. According to Agnew, places are fixed or mobile locations that have a real material or imaginary form and further possess a ‘sense of place’, which is the emotional and subjective attachment individuals have to it (Cresswell 2004, 7). Thus, a sense of place may give rise to reflections and interpretations of rootedness and heritage and so provides attachments to certain locations. Places that affect humans’ sense of belonging are those in which people feel comfortable or at home. Such places are found at various scales, such as the domestic, the local, the regional, the national, and even the supranational levels (Rose 1995, 88-91). These may be neighbourhoods, villages, regions, nation-states, or even larger entities. Direct personal interaction with these may bring about the negotiation of allegiances (Gustafson 2009, 492).

For migrants and their descendants, belonging depends on multiple places at multiple scales (Zontini 2015, 338). Diaspora tourism⁴ provides an opportunity for individuals with migration backgrounds to directly experience the localities of their ancestral homes and so engage with their origin (cf. Basu 2004; Butler 2003; Coles & Timothy 2004; Newland & Taylor 2010; Williams & Hall 2000). Amongst various aspects, such journeys involve visits to friends and relatives. Several studies on identity and belonging of migrants’ children depict diaspora tourism including visiting friends and relatives as important transnational practices by which individuals of the second generation maintain transnational ties. They also show that the journeys may both strengthen the attachment to ancestral home countries and foster feelings of difference and exclusion (cf. Reynolds 2010; Haller & Landolt 2005; Ruting 2012; Ali & Holden 2006; Wagner 2008). Visiting ancestral home countries and experiencing the transnational social field provokes reflections of one’s personal biography and challenges second-generation individuals to examine who they are or where they belong (Ueda 2009, 148-152). Yet, King and Christou describe second-generation individuals expressing ‘feelings of being at home’ in a range of places that go beyond national borders (King & Christou 2010, 115). Hence, I take the view that journeys to the parental home country may be understood as a *translocal* practice.

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3 Building on transnationalism, translocality reintegrates place to overcome the
4 rather deterritorialized notion of transnationalism (Brickell & Datta 2011, 8-9). Like
5 transnationalism, the concept draws attention to mobility and concomitant aspects,
6 though 'without losing sight of the importance of localities in peoples' lives' (Oakes
7 & Schein 2006, 1). Translocality thus focuses on the locally grounded experiences of
8 individuals who find themselves living in different places. As experiences and
9 practices are events that influence individuals' feelings about belonging (Anthias
10 2006, 21), translocal experiences such as encountering 'otherness' may produce
11 opinions regarding attachments and affinities (Brickell & Datta 2011, 16). Journeys to
12 one's heritage are not only motivated by 'a sense of belonging to or identifying with a
13 way of life' (King 1994, 174) but also shape and form it anew. Hence, visiting friends
14 and relatives represents a translocal activity through which the children of migrants
15 may negotiate and frame their affinity to their ancestral home country. Translocality
16 may thus be understood as the concept that explains how sense of place is socially
17 constructed yet simultaneously incorporates the locations themselves.

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19 Adopting a translocal lens to study how children of migrants constitute their
20 sense of belonging by journeys to their parents' home countries reveals how socio-
21 spatial interconnections affect negotiations of their belonging. By addressing the
22 interconnectedness between localities and people at various levels, translocality
23 serves as an appropriate conceptual tool to understand the negotiation of belonging in
24 multi-place and multi-scale environments. It enables the exploration of how social
25 aspects, places and the interconnection between the two affect the sense of belonging.

40 41 **Second-generation Eritreans visiting Eritrea**

42 Second-generation Eritreans have limited interactions with Eritrea (Zerat 2009, 67),
43 so journeys to Eritrea present one way of engaging with their origins. However,
44 travelling to Eritrea seems to be restricted to specific second-generation Eritreans.
45 Glatthard points out that it is mainly those who are loyal to the regime who have the
46 option of travelling to Eritrea (Glatthard 2012, 54). Alike, interviewees who have
47 openly criticized the Eritrean regime stated that they can no longer obtain entry visas
48 or fear possible consequences if travelling to Eritrea. However, my observations from
49 the journey to Eritrea showed that many of the second-generation Eritreans travelling
50 there would describe themselves as apolitical. Thus, only second-generation Eritreans
51 who are known critics of the government do not travel to Eritrea.
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3 The journey I accompanied started in Switzerland and took us via Italy to
4 Eritrea. Even during the journey it became clear that this would be more than just an
5 ordinary holiday trip for the second-generation Eritreans.
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9 At the airport in Rome Daniel stated that he would like to go on holidays after this. One
10 of his fellow travellers replied: 'We're just going to holidays to Eritrea', but Daniel
11 answered that this would not be real holidays, except perhaps the trip to Massawa, the
12 town at the Red Sea Coast. He meant going somewhere he had never been to before,
13 like two of the group members who would travel from Eritrea to Asia without returning
14 to Switzerland first. (Field notes 2014)
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19 That the journey is not associated with holidays but rather with visiting the ancestral
20 home became apparent in a range of situations during the trip. The second-generation
21 Eritreans, for instance, passed the passport controls either with their Swiss passport
22 combined with their Eritrean identity card, the *tessera*, serving as visa, or with their
23 Eritrean passport. Although they understand passports purely as a travel document not
24 affecting their identity as Eritrean or Swiss, traveling without a visa to a country that
25 requires visas for non-nationals emphasized to them their Eritrean nationality (Field
26 notes 2014). Thus, it made them aware that they were traveling to a country to which
27 they belong in some way.
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31 The individual journeys of second-generation Eritreans in Eritrea do not
32 merely follow a similar scheme; they usually also involve several identical activities,
33 such as visiting friends and relatives or, if possible, spending some days at the Red
34 Sea. Visiting friends and relatives in the Eritrean context is also specific because it is
35 not limited to those living in Eritrea but also includes visiting diaspora Eritreans who
36 have travelled to Eritrea themselves.
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40 41 **Visiting local Eritrean relatives**

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43 Visiting friends and relatives who live in Eritrea presents an important, unavoidable,
44 and distinct part of all second-generation Eritreans' journeys, which may influence
45 their sense of belonging and their affiliation to Eritrea. Although such journeys may
46 be motivated by the desire to connect to the ancestral home 'through reviving
47 relationships with family members' (Wagner 2008, 196), studies show that post-
48 migrant generations may also feel obliged to visit relatives or family members who
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3 have re-migrated to the ancestral country (Ali and Holden 2006, 237). Fieldwork
4 revealed that the reality lies somewhere in between.
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8 As planning progressed, the group started discussing intensively when the best time was
9 to visit their families. Someone emphasized that it is absolutely impossible to arrive and
10 stay in Eritrea for several days or go to Massawa, without seeing one's family first. It
11 would not only be rude; they would also be offended. Everybody agreed that families
12 must be visited as soon as possible, and enough time must be factored in. 'It should not
13 become some simple checking in', one of them said. (Field notes 2014)
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17 'I was very often out of town and didn't stay in Asmara all the time. I would say that I
18 spent at least half of my entire trip somewhere else, be it in Keren, Massawa, or the
19 place where my family comes from. So I've been travelling a lot and I have to say I was
20 absolutely into it. It's definitely somewhat exaggerated to put it like this, but it was
21 more a kind of soul-searching for me than just going to Eritrea to hang around doing
22 nothing and messing around. So for me, my trip of course was linked to a kind of
23 longing. I wanted to see and experience things that had something to do with my family,
24 my background, my origins. So in this way, it was not really a duty for me to go and
25 visit my relatives. It was not a compulsory task at all. (...). To have to or not to have
26 to... Well, of course it is a must to visit all of them. But I also really wanted to.' (Selam,
27 interview 2014)
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34 The second-generation Eritreans' motivation ranges from free will and the deliberate
35 desire to grapple with their origins to a perceived social obligation and expectations.
36 All participants described feeling some kind of social or at least familial expectation
37 to visit relatives who live in Eritrea. Several interviewees believe that this is due to
38 the rather distinct sense of community and family amongst Eritreans. In some cases,
39 such as that of Idris, the pressure is even more explicit, since his parents sometimes
40 ask him to visit his grandparents in Eritrea (Idris, interview 2014). The prospect of
41 visiting relatives in Eritrea, however, may even discourage others from travelling.
42 Several interviewees mentioned feeling uncomfortable about the idea or even being
43 'scared of the confrontation with the past and the reaction of local relatives' (Winta,
44 interview 2014). However, those participants who travelled also felt an intrinsic
45 motivation to visit locally resident Eritrean relatives and actively become involved
46 with their origin. Kisanet stated that second-generation Eritreans often have an
47 'identity crisis', mostly during their adolescence, and travel to Eritrea on their quest
48 for belonging (Kisanet, interview 2014). Visiting relatives who live in Eritrea thereby
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3 presents an important aspect of this, as Selam's statement above demonstrates. Thus,
4 regardless of the reasons for meeting locally resident families, visiting friends and
5 relatives constitutes an important and unavoidable part of second-generation Eritreans'
6 journeys. But how do they constitute socio-spatial experiences that affect
7 deliberations about belonging and affiliation to Eritrea?
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11 Even though the visitors often meet locally resident family members at the
12 airport, at the hotel or occasionally on the streets of Asmara, visiting relatives entails
13 that second-generation Eritreans visit the families in their homes. These places are
14 often linked to feelings, memories, and emotions.
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19 'Last time I was there... That's a very long time ago, I think I was 12. (...) I have
20 pictures, so I know we've been to the countryside and visited some villages. But I have
21 no memories of this at all. For me, the travels were my grandparents. It was just seeing
22 and being with my grandparents. It was just feeling love and playing with them, you
23 know. (...) So these things I still miss. For instance, when I talk to people and they say,
24 "Well, this weekend I'm going to my grandparents". Just to have your family around
25 you and to be grounded. Yeah... I really didn't have those simple moments because we
26 didn't live there. And you saw that other people in Switzerland have those moments and
27 you really wanted them as well. (...) For me, going back home was more to see family
28 and my grandparents. Just being able to find a bit of your identity.' (Yohanna, interview
29 2014)
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36 Like Yohanna, other interviewees told stories of weddings and other family
37 gatherings that have stuck in their minds. Selam mentioned that it was in Eritrea that
38 she could finally enjoy family gatherings, for example Easter celebrations (Selam,
39 interview 2014). Both Yohanna and Selam stressed that experiencing family, which
40 their Swiss friends were able to do at any time in Switzerland whereas they were not,
41 made them realize that they are not completely 'at home' in Switzerland. Thus,
42 experiencing the presence of family made several second-generation Eritreans aware
43 of the absence of this opportunity in Switzerland and thereby created a sense of home
44 when staying in Eritrea.
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51 Approaching the towns or villages, the neighbourhoods, and finally the relatives'
52 homes often brought back nostalgic feelings and childhood memories. Zerai and
53 Daniel, for instance, greeted locals they knew from previous visits and introduced
54 them to me as 'our neighbours', pointed to places and recalled memories such as 'we
55 always used to play football over there when we were boys,' and explained how
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3 things used to be in the earlier days and how they have changed (Field notes 2014).
4 Some second-generation Eritreans mentioned that a conspicuous change in the
5 neighbourhoods was the lack of local peers, as many of them have left the country.
6 Thus, when approaching the families' homes, the visitors normally behaved as if they
7 were entering familiar surroundings.
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12 We visited Awet's grandmother in a rural area where she lives. On the way, Awet
13 mentioned that it was many years since his last visit. (...) Arriving in the village he
14 asked a young local boy to show us the way to his grandmother's house. Finally
15 reaching her house, he proclaimed: 'This is where I live'.
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18 (...).

19 [On another family visit], he stated 'Good fortune seems to be with me. This could have
20 happened to me. I could have been grown up here' when walking through the
21 neighbourhood towards his relatives' home (Field notes 2014).
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25 Despite Awet's being born, raised and integrated in Switzerland, it seemed that seeing
26 his grandmother's house evoked a certain feeling of home. In addition, his statement
27 at the other neighbourhood, which appeared to be less appealing to him, shows that
28 experiencing the neighbourhood made him aware of his origin and that he belongs to
29 it to some extent. Hence, experiencing the presence of family members attaches
30 feelings and emotions to certain places, and so provides the particular locations with a
31 sense of place that evokes a sense of belonging when staying in Eritrea.
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37 The visits normally follow a similar pattern. In general, everybody seems to be
38 excited and celebrates the visit with lots of food and drinks. All of the second-
39 generation Eritreans who took me to their families said that they felt odd when
40 relatives made a big thing of their visit. Further, they felt uncomfortable being served
41 and eating the relatives' food or awkward not knowing what to talk about at their first
42 visits.
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48 'You know, my cousin [a local Eritrean whom we met the very first day] did not
49 accompany me when I went to my uncle's place. So I had to go there by myself. I was
50 feeling rather uncomfortable, since I didn't know what to talk about. I hadn't met this
51 family for a very long time. However, after some small talk it was ok and everything
52 went well', Awet told me after he returned from his first visit. (Field note 2014)
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3 Yet, after some small talk they appeared to lose their initial discomfort. They started
4 to help with daily tasks or playing with the children and so became less a guest and
5 more a visiting family member. The family visits showed that the older relatives in
6 particular seemed to be delighted to see that the second-generation had not forgotten
7 about their families and their roots.
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12 While the grandmother was celebrating the coffee ceremony, she held a monolog in
13 Tigrinya addressed to all of them. (...). One of the second-generation Eritreans gave a
14 summary translation: She was 'very happy to see all of them coming back to Eritrea',
15 that they 'did not forget their roots,' and that they came back to 'visit the country from
16 which they originate'. To me, it seemed that she intended to praise the arrival of the
17 second-generation Eritreans with her words. The second-generation Eritreans then
18 replied with a simple 'Amen'. They explained that this answer implies more or less:
19 'Nicely said, there is nothing much more to add'. (Field notes 2014)
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25 At the families' houses, second-generation Eritreans also encounter objects such as
26 family pictures or martyrs' certificates⁵, which hang in almost every Eritrean living
27 room. These seemed to provoke little direct reaction, as they were only explained to
28 me on two visits. Yet they elicit thoughts both about one's genealogy and sometimes
29 on the country's history. Zerai stated that he identifies with Eritrea, a country he has
30 never lived in, rather strongly, because relatives had given their lives for the future
31 generation. This somehow makes him part of that context and belonging to it (Zerai,
32 interview 2014). Thus, the second-generation Eritreans encounter situations,
33 discussions, and a variety of objects through family visits to these localities that may
34 provoke deliberations about roots and their relation to Eritrea and convey a sense of
35 belonging.
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43 Over the course of the stay, relations between local family members and the
44 second-generation Eritreans intensify, and discussions become more personal. In this
45 way, second-generation Eritreans become aware of the difficult local living conditions
46 and the struggles and worries of their local relatives. At the family visits I attended,
47 the current situation in Eritrea and emigration from Eritrea were recurring topics of
48 conversation.
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55 At lunch they talked openly about the youth leaving the country. It was explained to me
56 that a local relative thought it understandable in some respects. People in Eritrea have to
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3 do jobs which they neither want to do nor enjoy and only earn about 500 Nakfa⁶.
4 Therefore the youth think about leaving Eritrea. (Field notes 2014)
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7 Two participants further mentioned having stayed with their local relatives for a
8 period and taking part in everyday activities such as daily chores and queuing for fuel
9 or commodities. Being confronted with the realities faced by relatives who live in
10 Eritrea appears to affect the second-generation Eritreans emotionally. As a result, the
11 second-generation Eritreans start to empathize with their relatives and normally feel a
12 need to give some money to them. They do not intend to play the role of benefactor,
13 but they feel obliged to because of the discrepancy they witness between their own
14 living conditions and those of local Eritreans (Selam, interview 2014). Thus, learning
15 about the realities faced by local relatives through discussions or by participating in
16 everyday activities increases empathy for their relatives, strengthens second-
17 generation Eritreans' affiliation to them, and so conveys a feeling of belonging.
18 However, it also makes second-generation Eritreans realize and reflect on their
19 strangeness.
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29 In conclusion, family visits become a core issue in the negotiation of their
30 attachment to Eritrea. Experiencing family attaches emotions, feelings, memories, and
31 relationships to the particular localities and so provides localities with a sense of place.
32 These places may, for instance, be family homes, immediate surrounding and
33 neighbourhoods, or villages and towns. Thus, the interrelation between family and
34 place creates a sense of place that makes second-generation Eritreans feel belonging
35 to those particular places and makes them feel Eritrean. Further, personal interactions
36 with local relatives and experiencing the realities faced by the local relatives create
37 empathy and a sense of belonging. At the same time, experiencing the places and the
38 local living conditions recalls to them that they do not fully belong to Eritrea but also
39 have another home. Thus, visiting families and relatives simultaneously makes
40 second-generation Eritreans aware of their affinity to Eritrea and to their countries of
41 residence.
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51 ***Meeting diaspora relatives and friends***

52 In the Eritrean context, visiting friends and relatives involves an additional aspect.
53 Besides meeting locally resident family members, the visitors also meet with their
54 relatives and friends from abroad.
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4 'We also have relatives in the United States. And when I went to Eritrea for the first
5 time, they happened to be there too. So I was able to organize everything before leaving.
6 And when I arrived at the airport, I saw my cousin for the very first time in my life, as
7 she lives in the US. So instead of flying to New York during the holidays, which I could
8 have done, we met in Asmara.' (Selam, interview 2014)
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12 In contrast to visiting people who are living in Eritrea, which is mainly limited to
13 relatives, meeting with Eritreans from abroad also involves friends and acquaintances
14 who they know from their country of residence or from meetings and events.
15 Opportunities to meet occur at festivals such as the National Youth Festival in Sawa,
16 the military training camp, and the Festival Eritrea in Asmara that replaced the
17 Bologna Festival after independence (Conrad 2010, 66; Radtke 2009, 158;
18 Tesfamichael 2010, 31)⁷, which second-generation Eritreans sometimes attend in the
19 course of their journey. Several interviewees stressed that the earlier Bologna Festival
20 evoked attachments to Eritrea and the Eritrean diaspora.
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29 'The Bologna Festival was something very special. I enjoyed it very much. And I also
30 felt comfortable there. (...) Sure, I missed it when it ended. That feeling of belonging. It
31 was this small subculture. There were Eritreans from Italy, Germany, and England, none
32 of them fully Eritrean or European. Some knew how to speak Tigrinya. Others like me
33 were less proficient. Oh, it was great. That was something we missed. You have
34 common past and similar experiences.' (Kisanet, interview 2014)
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39 Since independence they are also able to experience such feelings directly in Eritrea.
40 Tarik remembers that 'the first time the festival took place in Eritrea, was like it used
41 to be in Bologna – only way larger and even more enormous and intense' (Tarik,
42 interview 2014). Both interviews and observations showed that actual encounters with
43 friends and relatives from abroad in Eritrea influences the second-generation Eritreans'
44 sense of belonging.
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50 'The first trip to Eritrea was just great. What I remember best is that there were lots of
51 people from the States. They didn't speak Tigrinya, even though they were of Tigrinya
52 origin. So I realized that I was not a misfit or outsider for not speaking Tigrinya either.
53 And it was really exciting, because all these people were my age and looked and talked
54 like me, listened to the same music I did. (...) It was the first time I realized that there
55 are many different places with a kind of "Eritrean mini-colony". In Washington, in LA,
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3 all over the place. Living the kind of life we did. Far away from Eritrea, but still
4 somehow connected.’ (Selam, interview 2014)
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7 Even though Selam not only refers to diaspora friends and relatives but also to
8 strangers, this statement shows that such interactions may raise awareness of
9 similarities with other diaspora Eritreans. Meeting friends and relatives from abroad
10 who share similar values, attitudes, and ideas may create a feeling of being part of the
11 same group and may make second-generation Eritreans aware of their ‘subgroup or
12 subculture’ (Kisanet, interview 2014). The interaction with other second-generation
13 Eritreans in particular demonstrates that there are other individuals with similar
14 lifestyles who face similar issues and experiences. Several interviewees stressed that
15 meeting other second-generation Eritreans from all over the globe made them realize
16 that they belong to this ‘subgroup’ of foreign-born and/or -raised Eritreans – or at
17 least to a part of it, since they also recognize differences amongst the heterogeneous
18 group of second-generation Eritreans.
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27 Besides meetings that are arranged in advance or at festivals, visiting diaspora
28 Eritreans tends to take place rather randomly at locations where they spend their
29 leisure time. One reason is that the journeys of diaspora Eritreans generally seem to
30 follow similar patterns, and they therefore sojourn at the same places. Over the course
31 of our journey, we often met friends and relatives from abroad on the streets of
32 Asmara, at hotels and restaurants, and at the Red Sea Coast. In addition, second-
33 generation Eritreans also keep an active lookout for their peers from abroad.
34 Attending a discussion about where to meet other young diaspora Eritreans revealed
35 that nightclubs were one of the best places to do so. Most second-generation Eritreans
36 prefer clubs where there are more diaspora Eritreans than *Asmarinos*, the local people
37 from Asmara. They believe that they have more in common with diaspora peers, such
38 as preferring the same western music or sharing common values and interests,
39 whereas locals would be quite different (Field notes 2014). Further, several
40 interviewees mentioned that some second-generation Eritreans hoped to find a partner
41 at such places. Yet Daniel qualified this by saying that it would be more about just
42 ‘having fun’, since any potential relationships would be unlikely to last due to the
43 geographical distances involved (Field notes 2014). A famous place to meet other
44 young diaspora Eritreans is the steps in front of St. Joseph’s Cathedral on Asmara’s
45 main road, *Godena Harnet* (Teclé 2012, 49). Yet I found it largely abandoned in 2014.
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3 One likely reason might be that we had arrived rather late in the season, at the
4 beginning of August, and so most visitors from the diaspora would already have left
5 Eritrea. However, the very absence of the diaspora from Eritrea in summer 2014 was
6 a regular topic of conversation among the second-generation Eritreans I accompanied.
7 They repeatedly mentioned the general absence of both locally resident and diaspora
8 Eritreans and that the streets were more deserted than on their previous visits.
9 Reflecting upon reasons for the diaspora's absence, Zerai argued that diaspora
10 Eritreans, and especially second-generation Eritreans, were probably just tired of the
11 entire situation and therefore avoided travelling to Eritrea (Field notes 2014).
12 Interviewees also mentioned that blackouts and fuel shortages have increased and that
13 the infrastructure has worsened, and Tarik stressed that it made him 'sad to see the
14 stagnation or decline that has gone on for several years' (Tarik, interview 2014).
15 Further, the difficult living conditions would be another reason for the absence and
16 emigration of many local Eritreans, interviewees stated. As a result, some
17 interviewees claimed that the government was responsible for this situation, others
18 emphasized its efforts and expressed the need to contribute personally to Eritrea's
19 development, and still others even did both. Thus, experiencing the absence of
20 diaspora Eritreans from places where they normally expected to meet them, makes
21 second-generation Eritreans aware of local realities and entails reflections about
22 Eritrea and their stance towards Eritrea.
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36 Like visiting locally resident families, meeting friends and relatives from
37 abroad is linked with places too. As illustrated, various places are known as locations
38 where young second-generation Eritreans may meet their diaspora peers. The
39 interconnection of localities and people reveals that not only the presence but also the
40 absence of certain groups from places where they normally are found affects second-
41 generation Eritreans regarding the negotiation of their attachment to Eritrea and the
42 Eritrean diaspora.
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49 **Conclusion**

50 This paper explores journeys of second-generation Eritreans to their ancestral home
51 country with a specific focus on visiting friends and relatives. Applying a translocal
52 perspective enables an examination of how second-generation Eritreans experience
53 different localities and how socio-spatial interrelations and the experiences of these at
54 specific places then influence the second-generation Eritreans' sense of belonging.
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3 Diaspora tourism and visiting friends and relatives constitute socio-spatial and
4 translocal experiences, which both are based on and create interconnectedness,
5 interactions, and exchanges between individuals and places. These socio-spatial
6 experiences influence the second-generation Eritreans' negotiation of belonging.
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10 Narratives and observations during the field trip and interview statements
11 illustrate how second-generation Eritreans perceive and interpret their journeys and
12 how they experience these socio-spatial interactions themselves. The study shows that
13 different specific localities are linked to specific people. Experiencing these socio-
14 spatial interconnections provokes feelings or memories and so affects second-
15 generation Eritreans' sense of belonging in differing ways. On the one hand, localities
16 are linked to locally resident relatives. Family homes, neighbourhoods, and even
17 Eritrea, on a more abstract level, constitute such places. They are directly connected
18 to experiences and social contacts, such as visiting grandparents, family gatherings or
19 childhood experiences which second-generation Eritreans, unlike peers without
20 migration backgrounds, lack in their countries of residence. This socio-spatial
21 interconnectedness generally promotes a feeling of 'being at home' and so raises
22 awareness of Eritrean origin and a sense of belonging to Eritrea. On the other hand,
23 locations are related to the diaspora. Coles and Timothy (2004, 13) argue that
24 diaspora tourism plays a key role in the construction of a diaspora identity, and
25 Conrad claims 'that the journeys to Eritrea make most youngsters aware that
26 something like an Eritrean "exile" or "diaspora culture" in its own right exists at all'
27 (Conrad 2010, 100). In this line, I found that one of the essential aspects for second-
28 generation Eritreans in this process is encountering the diaspora, which is also related
29 to space. As shown, there are various localities, such as nightclubs, hotels, and public
30 places, at which second-generation Eritreans encounter diaspora peers and identify the
31 Eritrean diaspora, or at least part of it, as an additional frame of reference for
32 negotiating their belonging. In sum, this study indicates that it is neither merely
33 locality nor society but rather the relation of the two that provokes negotiations of
34 belonging. It is the interconnectedness between place and people experienced in the
35 course of journeys to Eritrea that shapes second-generation Eritreans' affiliation to
36 Eritrea and its diaspora. Yet, even though these socio-spatial experiences raise
37 awareness of belonging, it is important to note that they promote consciousness of
38 otherness or strangeness at the same time. In the case of second-generation Eritreans,
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3 this is not solely restricted to their attachment to their ancestral home but also to their
4 belonging to the Eritrean diaspora.
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6 In this paper, I have argued that diaspora tourism and concomitant visits to
7 friends and families constitute a translocal phenomenon in which individuals with
8 migration backgrounds constitute and maintain their affiliation to different locations
9 and negotiate aspects of their belonging. Incorporating a translocality perspective,
10 however, does not imply any denial of the *national* or a sense of belonging towards a
11 country. Moreover, the results indicate that belonging on a larger scale like belonging
12 to a nation may base on the actual experience of respectively the engagement with
13 specific locations and their socio-spatial interrelations.
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Notes

1 Scientific literature provides scant explanation why Bologna was chosen for
2 this festival (cf. Arnone 2014). According to a statement published on the website
3 'Eritrea Live', it was thanks to the prominent communist movement in Bologna,
4 which welcomed and supported Eritreans in their struggle (Plaut 2014).
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13 2 All participants but one live in Switzerland, yet eight grew up in other non-
14 African countries with large Eritrean diasporas. Further, three are children of
15 binational parents. With the exception of the interview with Yohanna, all data were
16 collected in German. Thus, field notes and interviews were recorded in German and
17 translated into English.
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23 3 Since this sample also incorporates people born in Eritrea, strictly speaking
24 the term 'second-generation' is incorrect. There are several subcategories for
25 classifying children of migrants: 1.75 generation (migrated at the age of 0-5), the 1.5
26 generation (migrated at the age of 6-12) and the 1.25 generation (migrated at the age
27 of 13-17) (cf. Andall 2002, 390-392). However, since all of my interviewees except
28 one belong at least to the 1.75 generation, meaning that they left Eritrea before the age
29 of six, I decided to speak of the 'second-generation'.
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36 4 Various terminologies such as 'diaspora tourism', 'ethnic tourism', 'heritage
37 tourism', 'roots tourism', and others exist for describing the journeys of post-migrant
38 generations to their ancestral homeland. For this study on second-generation Eritreans,
39 'diaspora tourism' seems to be most suitable, since 'roots tourism' typically involves
40 more distant generations (Ruting 2012, 18), 'ethnic tourism' more frequently
41 describes travel in search of the 'exotic' or strange and indigenous cultures (King
42 1994, 173), and 'heritage tourism' seems to centre on historical aspects and the
43 desire to consume culture (Chhabra et al. 2003, 702-703). Another conceptual
44 framework that links tourism and migration is 'visiting friends and relatives (VFR
45 tourism)' (Williams & Hall 2000, 20). Yet, as diaspora tourism 'may combine visits
46 to friends and family with conventional tourist or leisure activities' (Newland &
47 Taylor 2010, 6), I treat visiting friends and relatives as an integral part of diaspora
48 tourism.
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3 5 Martyrs' certificates are documents issued to honor the war victims and are
4 therefore a reminder of those who sacrificed themselves for Eritrean independence.
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8 6 At the time of visiting Eritrea, the government exchange rate of is around 1
9 US Dollar to 15 Nakfa. However, the black-market exchange rates, which reflect the
10 actual value more accurately (Riggan 2014, 103), □ were slightly above 50 Nakfa to
11 the dollar.
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16 7 The Bologna Festival is no longer held, apart from a 40th-anniversary edition
17 in July 2014. Yet, various other festival or events have been organized, for instance in
18 Frankfurt (Nolting von 2002, 42-43). Fenan, who occasionally attends the festival in
19 Frankfurt, mentioned that he still met people he had known since childhood or from
20 the Bologna Festival (Fenan, interview 2014).
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