



**Eritrean Diaspora in Germany: The case of the Eritrean
refugees in Baden-Württemberg**

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**Dissertação de Mestrado em Migrações, Inter-Etnicidades e
Transnacionalismo**

September, 2019

Dissertação apresentada para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Mestre em Migrações, Inter-Etnicidades e Transnacionalismo, realizada sob orientação científica da Prof. Dr. Alexandra Magnólia Dias - NOVA/FCSH e Prof. Dr. Karin Sauer - *Duale Hochschule Baden-Württemberg*.

This dissertation is presented as a final requirement for obtaining the Master's degree in Migration, Inter-Ethnicity and Transnationalism, under the scientific guidance of Prof. Dr. Alexandra Magnólia Dias of NOVA/FCSH, and co-orientation of Prof. Dr. Karin Sauer of DHBW.

Financial Support of Baden-Württemberg Stiftung



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my thesis advisors Prof. Dr. Alexandra Magnólia Dias of the New University of Lisbon and Prof. Dr. Karin Sauer of the *Duale Hochschule Villingen-Schwenningen*. The access to both advisors was always open whenever I ran into trouble or had a question about my research or writing.

I would also like to thank the experts who were involved in the validation survey for this research project: Jasmina Brancazio, Felicia Afryie, Karin Voigt, Orland Esser, Uwe Teztel, Werner Heinz, Volker Geisler, Abraham Haile, Tekeste Baire, Semainesh Gebrey, Inge Begger, Isaac, Natnael, Maximillian Begger, Aleksander Siyum, Robel, Dawit Woldu, Herr Kreuz, Hadassa and Teclu Lebasse. Without their passionate participation and inputs, this research could not have been successfully conducted.

For all refugees who shared me their experiences with generosity, trust, knowledge and time, my sincerely thank you all.

I would like to thank my friends Camilla Guerrato, Cibele Fleury, Ester Coelho e Joana Maldonado. I am gratefully indebted for their valuable incentive on this thesis.

Finally, I must express my very profound gratitude to my father Luiz Oliveira, my mother Vanda Abreu and to my partner André Jaehne. They provided me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout my years of study and through the process of researching and writing this thesis. This accomplishment would not have been possible without them. Thank you all.

For Jesus, Luiz e Vanda.

In love and gratitude

“Refugees have been deprived of their homes, but they must not be deprived of their futures.”

— **Ban Ki-moon, UN Secretary-General**

“Germany is an immigration country”

— **Aydan Özoğuz, Minister of the German State and Federal Government
Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration**

“Whenever people talk in the abstract about the pros and cons of immigration, one should not forget that immigrants are individual human beings whose lives happen not to fit neatly within national borders – and that like all human beings, they are all different. How different, though? Different better, or different worse? Such basic questions underlie whether people are willing to accept outsiders in their midst.”

— **Philippe Legrain, *Immigrants: Your Country Needs Them***

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Abstract

The object of this paper is the Eritrean diasporic community and its organization, experiences, and perspectives in Baden-Württemberg, Germany. The aim is to obtain a broad understanding of the Eritrean refugees and asylum seekers which immigrated between 2015 and 2019, their relation with the community already constructed in Baden-Württemberg with a special focus on transnational issues. The connection between religious and placemaking, long-distance nationalism, sense of belonging and the engagement in the homeland are essential spotlights in the case study of the Eritrean diaspora for this research. The thesis finds that the Eritrean community which arrived since the beginning of the “summer of migration” are based in the placemaking through the religion in Baden-Württemberg, but also maintaining strong ties with the homeland. This research can contribute to the understanding of the object studied, serving as the basis for future researches related to the Eritrean global diaspora and the diasporic community in Germany and Baden-Württemberg.

KEYWORDS: DIASPORA; REFUGEES; ERITREA; BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG; GERMANY.

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ACRONYMS

AFD	Alternative für Deutschland/ Alternative for Germany
ACN	Aid to the Church in Need
BAMF	Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlingen/ Ministry of Migration and Refugees
BW	Baden-Württemberg
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union/ Democratic Christian Union
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union/ Social Christian Union
EASO	European Asylum Support Office
EDP	Eritrean Defence Force
ELF	Eritrean Liberation Front
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
EU	European Union
EUROSTAT	European Statistical Office
FRONTEX	Frontières Extérieures/ External Borders
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit/ German Society for International Work Together
HDI	Human Development Indicator
LPB	Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg/ State Center for Political Education Baden-Württemberg
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NUES	National Union of Eritrean Students
NRW	Nordrhein-Westfalen/ North Rhine-Westphalia
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

PEGIDA	Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes/ Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident
PFDJ	People's Front for Democracy and Justice
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USA	United States of America
USIP	United States Institute of Peace

INTRODUCTION

Migration and forced displacement are both universal phenomenon in the current global agenda. The political and social events of the last years are causing debate between countries around the world, as the so-called “refugee crisis” which began in 2015 has raised the discussion about the role of migration on the political scene.

Following the forced displacement report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), “An estimated 13.6 million people were newly displaced due to conflict or persecution in 2018. This included 10.8 million individuals displaced within the borders of their own country and 2.8 million new refugees and new asylum-seekers”. (UNHCR, 2019:2). The displaced people population increased in by 2.9 million in 2017 compared to previous year. Refugees who have fled their countries to escape conflict and persecution accounted for 25.4 million. This number is 2.9 million bigger than in 2016, also the biggest increase UNHCR has ever seen in a single year.

At the end of 2017, 68.5 million individuals were forcibly displaced worldwide as a result of persecution, conflict, or generalized violence. Therefore, the world’s forcibly displaced population remained yet again at a record high. (UNHCR, 2017:2).

In this number of forced displacement all over the globe, about 68 percent of the refugees population is coming from Syria, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar, and Somalia (UNHCR, 2019:15). In 2018, the ninth-largest population is constituted by citizens of Eritrea, appearing in the same position of the ranking in 2017. In the same year, 486.200 involuntary migrants fled to diverse countries worldwide. The biggest part of them fled to the neighbors in Africa to end living in refugee camps. The report of UNHCR in 2019 states:

Eritrea remained the ninth largest country of origin with 507.300 refugees at the end of 2018, an increase from end-2017 when this population stood at 486.200. Most Eritrean refugees (57 percent) were hosted by Ethiopia (174.000) and Sudan (114.500), but many also found protection farther away, such as in Germany (55.300), Switzerland (34.100), Sweden (27.700), Norway (15.200), the Netherlands (14.900), Israel (14.500) and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (United Kingdom) (13.000).

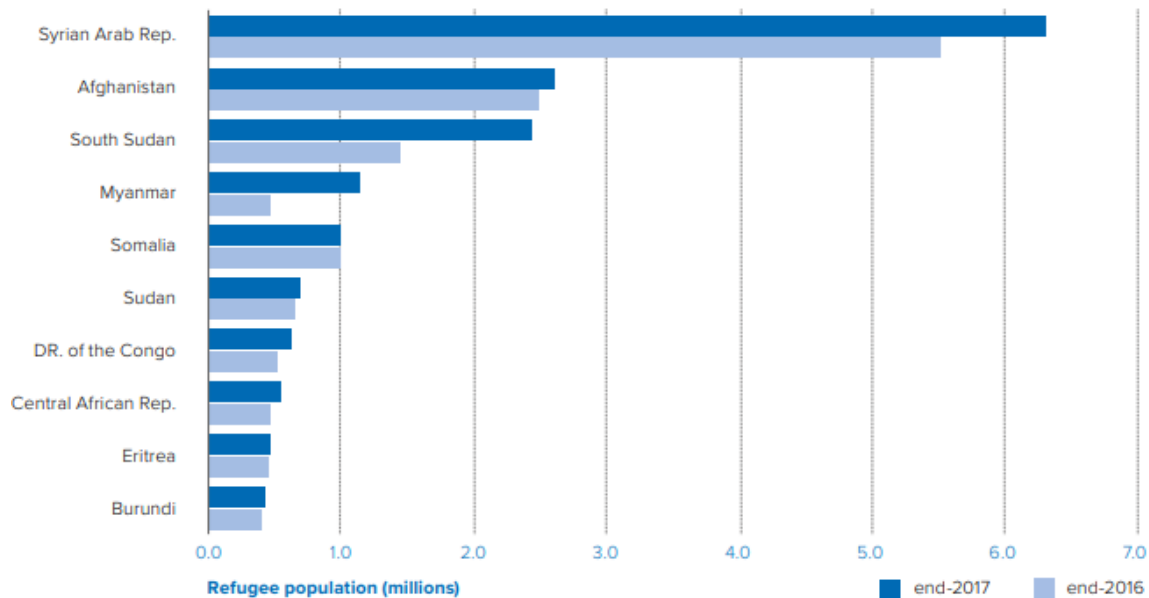


Figure 1: Major source countries of refugees in 2017 [UNHCR, 2018]

As the figure shows, Eritrea stands among the top ten countries generating most refugees, remaining in the ninth position.

The Europe is the continent that most of those individuals would like to live and risk themselves in dangerous journeys mainly via the Eastern and Central Mediterranean migratory routes. One of those journeys is known as “The Western Balkans Route”, which experienced a large fall in illegal border-crossings.

This route is composed by two migratory flows: one from the Western Balkan countries themselves and another of migrants having entered the EU (Bulgaria or Greece) via Turkey by land or sea, with the aim of reaching the Schengen area. In 2015, of the main migratory routes to Europe by land and sea, that across the Western Balkans was the busiest. Starting in Turkey, the route heads west into Greece and then into the Western Balkans, at present primarily via the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Serbia. The region's aspiring EU candidates, particularly Kosovo and Albania, have largely been a source of irregular migration themselves, with a peak of border crossings in 2014 and early 2015. (European Parliament, 2016:2)

About 85 percent of the world’s refugee population (under the UNHCR mandate) are hosted in developing regions. About the asylum applications, as reported by the risk analysis of 2018 of Frontex, in 2017 and according to European Asylum Support Office

(EASO), 701.997 applications for international protection were lodged in the 28 EU Member States plus Norway and Switzerland¹. (FRONTEX, 2017:54).

Since 2015, when the so-called “refugees crisis”² started in Europe, the EU turned on a red alarm. The prognosis for the number of refugees changed and the EU started to rethink the asylum system and about the reorganization of the refugees. A big majority that crossed the countries of the Balkan route had as a goal to reach one final destination: Germany. That is the reason that the scenario in Germany is special, as a consequence of many refugees chooses to apply in Germany for asylum. The refugees used to get the Balkan route to reach the German territory after crossing Turkey, Greece, Macedonia, Serbia, Hungary, and Austria.

According to the UNHCR (2017:45), Germany was the country where the most asylum claims decisions were taken:

Due to the revision of figures from South Africa³, Germany had the largest asylum-seeker population at the end of 2016 with 587.300 pending claims. That was an increase of nearly 40 percent compared with 2015 (420.600) and 160 percent compared with 2014 (226.200). While Germany took the largest number of substantive decisions of any country in 2016 (639.000), asylum claims in recent years outpaced the capacity to process decisions, leading to an increase in the asylum seeker population.

The impact of the movement of refugees to Europe in 2015 and 2016 was seen in the growing refugee population as the backlog of asylum applications was gradually processed during 2017. In particular, the refugee population in Germany increased by 45 percent, with substantive decisions made on over half a million cases (UNHCR, 2017).

In 2018, the highest number of first-time asylum applicants in the third quarter of 2018 was registered in Germany (with 42.000 first-time applicants, or 29 percent of all applicants in the EU Member States. (EUROSTAT, 2018:4)

¹ EU+: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom, Norway and Switzerland. Until the end of the writing this dissertation, the Brexit was still in decision phase.

² In my personally point of view, the term “crisis” cannot be used in the case of the situation of Europe since 2015. The “crisis” is actually on the border regime in Europe (Schwiertz & Ratfisch, 2016). One alternative for the word “crisis” can be “Summer of Migration” used by Fleischmann (2017) and Hamann (2017).

³ Information on country of origin was not provided for the asylumseeker population in South Africa (UNHCR, 2016, Footnote 66).

The asylum seeker and refugee population are divided into all the states of the country but concentrated mostly in three of them: North Rhine-Westphalia, Baden-Württemberg and Lower Saxony. In the scope of this dissertation only Baden- Wurttemberg will be under analysis.

In 2016, most first applications were made in these mentioned states, furthermore in 2017 in North Rhine-Westphalia, Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg. These states use a system to distribute the refugees and asylum seekers to other territories. This system is called EASY (initial distribution of asylum-seekers) is based on the so-called *Königsteiner Schlüssel*⁴. The distribution rate is decided annually by the states commission and determines the proportion of asylum seekers in each federal state. This should ensure a fair and equitable distribution to the federal states.

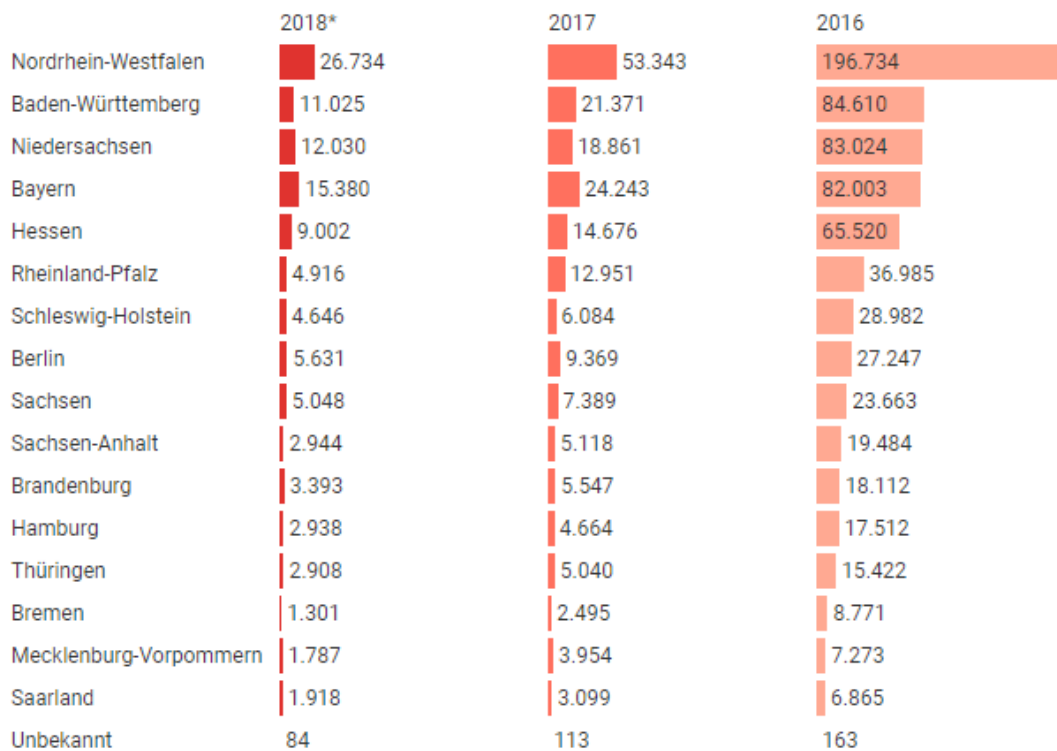


Figure 2: Applications for asylum in Germany by state from 2016-2018 [BAMF, 2018]

As the Graphic 2 shows, Baden-Württemberg is the second state where more people applied for asylum in 2016 and 2017. This state is located in southwest Germany, with Stuttgart as capital and known as a state of diversity or *Vielfältiges Land*, in German.

⁴ It is a method used by the German Government to determinate the distribution of finances to the states.

From the total population of the state⁵ (10.7 million), 1.6 million do not have a German citizenship. The higher number of foreign residents in Baden-Württemberg was attributed to two-thirds of the increase in persons from non-EU countries. The number of inhabitants from this group of countries rose by almost 80.000 to 8.432.000 in 2016. Any citizens from the EU Member States accounted for one-third of the increase in foreign residents. At the end of 2016, 82.1900 foreign citizens with citizenship of an EU Member State lived in Baden-Württemberg, 40.500 more than at the end of 2015. (*Statistisches Landesamt Baden-Württemberg*, 2016).

In the same year, the Eritrean population increased in 69,7 percent, according to the Statistics commission of Baden-Württemberg from 2015 to 2016. It is important to address that this number is of Eritrean living in the state, however, is not counting the number of asylum applications from Eritrean citizens in Baden-Württemberg.

The current rate of the access to asylum seekers for initial applications remaining in Baden-Württemberg in 2019 is 46, about 1,25 percent from January to April from 2019. The total number of all 27 countries of origin presented in the list from the ministry of the Interior, Digitization and Migration⁶ is 3.682 asylum required.

This rate, in 2018, was 409, about 3,81 percent for all requests. In 2017, the number was in 872, with 5,56 percent for the 100 percent applications. In 2016, the percentage was in 4,69 percent with 1545 asylum inquiries. Compared with 2015, the first year of the so-called “summer of migration” when the quota of the Eritrean asylum requests was exactly 1.941, with a percentage of 1,98 percent of the asylum petitions, the number in 2019 felt dramatically⁷.

Motivation

As exposed in the first section, the Eritrean citizens have relevant participation within the number of refugee and asylum seekers quota in Germany. Since the country is one of the favorites destined from the refugees, the Eritreans count in this statistic and also in desiring to apply for the asylum in German territory. In this dissertation, the focus is the Eritrean community in Baden-Württemberg, the second state most receiver of asylum applications in Germany and where the population of Eritrean just raised 69,7 percent in 2016.

⁵ Including all people, Germans and not Germans.

⁶ In German: *Das Ministerium für Inneres, Digitalisierung und Migration*.

⁷ In Appendix E is possible to find a table containing all the numbers exposed in this paragraph.

While I was writing this dissertation I had contact with many Eritrean in Baden-Württemberg and in Asmara. I started the documental research in BW and in March 2019, I travelled to Asmara. Since the first interview in BW, the main question was: But why you, Brazilian and also a migrant chose to study people from a small country in Africa?. It was quite difficult for the Eritrean refugees and asylum seekers in Baden-Württemberg to understand that their case can be studied and as a consequence better understood outside Eritrea, in a German Context.

My interesting on Eritrean refugees is the result of my first year as a volunteer in Tübingen, where I met one refugee from Eritrea who was living in the Youth Hostel. I just started to research about the Eritrean refugees in Germany and it was hard to find studies which focused on this population, that is the reason that leads the initiative of this investigation. It was not possible to find in the existing literature, enough relevant in-depth studies, exploring the organization of the Eritrean in Baden-Württemberg. The authors which I have been found, sometimes extend their ideas in a continental "sphere" only by a discourse on Europe⁸, sometimes in USA⁹ or in Germany¹⁰, but especially in Baden-Württemberg according to my documental research was not possible to find any. Other literature focuses only on describing refugees in general (not just Eritreans) by generalizing asylum seekers from countries known as risk places.

Epistemological Justification

Considering that the refugee's studies are an acute theme, unresolved and global, this dissertation, as a sociological product, needs to be broadly disseminated, read, debated - as well as the situation of this special population in Baden-Württemberg, providing them voice.

The Eritrean Diaspora in Baden-Württemberg is less studied than the other refugee communities in Germany¹¹. As mentioned before, it is possible to find some studies about the Eritrean Community in Germany generally, or concentrated in Frankfurt. All of those investigations are situated between 2001 and 2010 and before the so-called "refugees crisis" in Europe from 2015 onwards. The situation is now different, as well as the current

⁸ As in Belloni (2016a) and Woldemariam (2016).

⁹ As in Hepner (2010)

¹⁰ As in Frankfurt by Nolting (2001), Germany as a whole country from Conrad (2010) and also part in Germany from Hepner (2009).

¹¹ As in Diab (2017) about Syrian community and Daxner and Nicola (2017) about the Afghan Diaspora in Germany.

organization of those refugees. Due to the lack of scientific studies on Eritrean refugees in Germany, the study object deserves to be researched, both to expose the political and socio-economic issues leading to the escape of the Eritreans from their homeland as the motivation to seek of asylum in Baden-Württemberg and make the state as a second home. The issues explored in this research can both help to provide an empathetic understanding of this minority population and contribute positively to the integration policies.

This work also follows one of the 2030 Agenda for 17 Sustainable Development Goals, the number 10, expressly the 10.2 .“By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or another status” (UN, 2015a).

(...) In adopting the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in 2015, the ONU clearly recognized the positive contribution made by migrants for inclusive growth and sustainable development. The benefits and opportunities of safe, orderly and regular migration are substantial and are often underestimated. Forced displacement and irregular migration in large movements, on the other hand, often present complex challenges (UN, 2015b)

According to Stein (1981), refugee problems are viewed as temporary and unique events. This inaccurate perspective is the most corrosive and damaging element that all refugee programs must confront. The result of this perspective is incompleteness, things left undone, a failure to evaluate programs, to prepare for the next wave of refugees, to experiment with alternative strategies, to develop coordination, to undertake research and to learn from the past.

Before continuing to the literature review, the next section will explain the methodological approach and research questions which drive this investigation.

Methodological Approach

The present investigation uses a conceptual framework and multidisciplinary approach incorporating elements of Sociology, Anthropology and International Relations. The literature review will be responsible to explore the migration concepts, to scrutinize deeply the historical particularities of Eritrea before and after independence in 1993, but also its current sociological, economic and political situation. It is important to address that this last situation is also a driver of the Eritrean exodus. The bibliography used were

focused in papers written since 1990¹², but concentrated between 2013-2019, in the German, English and Portuguese languages. I also tried to use Eritrean and African scholars to highlight their researches and look at the important issues for this dissertation with an African view.

About the multidisciplinary nature of the refugee's research, Sendkler suggests:

Refugee research does not fit neatly into disciplinary categories. (...) The breadth of the problems and subjects demands an inter-, cross, and multidisciplinary approach. Sociology, psychology, anthropology, law, political science, linguistics, medicine, social work, history, and of course, area or regional subdivisions of these disciplines all impinge on refugees studies. (Sendkler, 1990 apud Stein, 1981:2)

It is also sought to highlight bibliographies related to Eritrean refugees in other states of the German territory, and then produce a brief comparison between the way these asylum seekers behave at those places and how they are organized in Baden-Württemberg. That comparison was possible after the data analysis and the Fieldwork in BW. Furthermore, the relations of the Italian colonization and the period of Ethiopian dissolution, the incorporation of Eritrean as its 14th Province and compulsory military service with Eritrean identity will be exanimate. The magnitude of those relevant issues outside their country of origin is one of the objectives of this present research.

This research is driven by one central question and more five specified questions. They were designed to correspond with the subsidiary highlights of this investigation: transnational community relations, social networks, collective identity and sense of belonging, solidarity in diaspora, long distance nationalism, and link with the homeland in the diaspora. The main research question that links all the six chapters and the secondary questions are present as follow:

Central Question:

As the great majority of new arrivals in Germany since 2015, how do the Eritreans refugees and asylum seekers in Baden-Württemberg live and organize as a diasporic community?

¹² Outside the classical literature as Arendt (1943), Bourdieu (1996), Durkheim (1930) and Weber (1948)

Subsidiary Question I:

Is there any connection between religion and placemaking process in the case of Eritrean refugees in Baden-Württemberg?

Subsidiary Question II:

Is there any relationship between the emigration drivers and Eritrean nationalism in the diaspora?

Subsidiary Question III:

Considering transnational issues, what is the link between the Eritrean refugees living in Baden-Württemberg and their country of origin? And what is the community's influence on the constancy of closing links with Eritrean' relatives/friends?

Subsidiary Question IV:

What is the role of the Eritrean community already formed in Baden-Württemberg for the post-refugees crisis¹³ in 2015?

Subsidiary Question V:

Is the Eritrean Diaspora in Baden-Württemberg active in their homeland politics? And how about the political engagement in Baden-Württemberg?

The method used was mainly qualitative approach, focusing on the interactive multiple methods. As Bloor and Wood (2006:17) argue, the interactive multiple methods a deep analysis of the topic:

Thus, the most useful interactive multiple methods are not qualitative and quantitative methods (since the findings from such methods are rarely straightforwardly commensurate), but rather combinations of different qualitative methods, focused on the same topic or research task. Thus, while additive multiple methods aim for comprehensive coverage, interactive multiple methods aim for depth of analysis of a narrower topic.

The propose is to analyze the research object but through a new vision, an analytical optic. In fact, from the observation of the Eritrean reality in Baden-Württemberg and through a deductive perspective¹⁴, the research was done in a participatory way to identify and

¹³ Even I do not agree with the use of the term “refugee crisis”, I will continue to use those terms throughout this thesis.

¹⁴ It will allow just to draw some trends based on the preliminary findings of a total of twelve interviews.

present the particularities of this community to reach a deep knowledge of the phenomenon under study.

Hypothesis

In this sense, and considering that the central objective of this research is to understand the refugee experience, organization and perspectives of the Eritrean refugees and asylum seekers as a transnational community in Baden-Württemberg, through a systemic approach, is important to identify possible hypothesis which can inference of relationships established between the variables that sustain the present investigation.

The main inquiry already explicated will support the course of the investigation and the verification of the proposed working hypothesis. It is divided in three sections which make the tree main ideas clear:

- 1) The Eritrean Diaspora formed by refugees and asylum seekers arrived between 2015 and 2019 in Baden-Württemberg is structured in the placemaking process through religious and Eritrean associations in BW;
- 2) Th Eritrean Diaspora is not actively engaged in the political and social issues, both in Eritrea and in BW;
- 3) The Eritrean Diaspora can be defined as a parallel community in face the autochthonous society.

The Fieldwork

The Fieldwork period for this investigation was extended from August 2018 until August 2019. At this time I collected, a priori, qualitative data about Eritrean groups and associations in Germany (with a focus in Baden-Württemberg) as well contacted the privileged informants to start the interviews stage.

Some of the informants that I have been found, actively answered my questions but some of them just tried to reply to me with the same words for different issues and questions. For almost all of the interviewees, I needed to get help with a person who could speak Tigrynia, Amharic or English, in last case. The circumstances were always used and the biggest part of my interlocutors had no problem to share their life histories with the other interviewee presence¹⁵.

¹⁵ The interviews happened normally in group because of not all of refugees could speak German or English, and I can not speak Tygrinia. Unfortunately, I could not find an official translator who had time to help

In December 2018, I did the first informal interview with one of my first interviewed “vintage” refugees, in this research called Generation Nationalism¹⁶ (cf. chapter 5). The next interviews were made between January and July with more ten refugees, which arrived or applied for asylum in Baden-Württemberg between 2015 and 2019. Themes such as the scape journey to reach Germany were always traumatic. For 2 of the interviewees this theme was particularly difficult, the others just switched to another question.¹⁷

Also in February, I visited the *Verein Grundschule adi Belsey e. V.*, an Eritrean-German group situated in *Heilbronn*, which since the day of the interview I am also a member.

Between March and April, I traveled to Eritrea to know the reality of the people who live there. This travel could be possible thanks to the financial support of *Baden-Württemberg Stiftung* and the *Verein Grundschule Adi Belsey e. V.* The main motivation was to check personally about what I mostly read in the course of the documentary research, mainly about the poverty and the military work in the capital of the country, where I lived for about two weeks. In Asmara, I used a research diary, where I registred my impressions about the lifestyle of the Eritrean people¹⁸ and all my observations in the informal interviews made.

The difficulties started when I tried to get a visa to travel to Asmara. The next point was to interview people in Asmara and give them the security that they need to speak with me without any fear. All the real names were changed to fictious names. About the use of pseudonyms and the challenge of the protection of the identities of the interlocutors, Blood and Wood (2006:68) states:

The principle of protection of participants’ identities also poses its own challenges to qualitative researchers. There are, of course, effective ways of protecting identities through secure data storage, removal of identifiers, amendments to biographical details and the use of pseudonyms (applicable to names of individuals, places, and organizations).

me when my interlocutors had time to speak with me. One of the interlocutors who could speak better English and German translated all sentences that the others could not understand.

¹⁶ According to Tricia Hepner (2009) in “Generation Nationalism and Generation Asylum: Eritrean Migrants, the Global Diaspora, and the Transnational Nation-State”.

¹⁷ One of my interviewee cried and trembled when she just thought about her scape journey. She is attending even after more than one year of residence in *Friedrichshafen*, this theme is really traumatic.

¹⁸ Mainly in young age because of my target interlocutors age range of the research.

All the interviewees also do not allow me to record the conversations with my phone or computer being afraid of the information and answers that they gave me. For this reason, the exact transcription of the interviews was impossible to become. Since the first conversation¹⁹, some themes as politics or the name of the president Isaias Afwerki were completely forbidden. Although, in Baden-Württemberg, the interlocutors did not have many problems to speak about the politics in Eritrea, just did not show much interesting about this theme.

Scope of the Work

This section gives an overview of the different chapters of the thesis. The presented dissertation is comprised of six chapters divided as follow:

The first section provides an analysis of the sociological aspects of the research, such as the concepts of migration, diaspora, and community, transnationalism and the differences between labor migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers.

The second examines the history of Eritrea from the colonialism age until 2019. The current socio-economic and political situation in the country is also a relevant theme, since one of the goals of this investigation is trying to clarify the relation between those factors, the massive exodus since 2015 and the long distance nationalism.

The third chapter gives an overview of the Eritrean Diaspora in the World. The focus is on the first section in Europe and ends in Germany as a whole country.

While chapter two brings Eritrea as a central point and country of origin, the fourth chapter is concentrated to explore Germany as a host country, emphasizing the integration policies and the asylum application in Baden-Württemberg.

The penultimate chapter summarizes the Eritrean Diaspora in Baden-Württemberg and its relation with the collective identity in the community outside Eritrea, their participation in their homeland politics and explore the concept of the Long Nationalism from Anderson (1992) and transnationalism in the case of the Eritrean community in BW. The last chapter examines the Eritrean scene translated in associations and groups situated in Baden-Württemberg, and the influence of these organizations in the refugees and asylum seekers' life in the BW.

¹⁹ Normally "Talk or Conversation" was the nomenclature that I used to try to start a interview with people in Asmara and in Baden-Württemberg.

CHAPTER 1

TERMINOLOGICAL CLARIFICATIONS

This chapter is dedicated to clarifying the concepts which lead this research. It is important to introduce the definition of the terms used during the dissertation, at the beginning of the literature review. In this investigation will be analyzed in particular, the key concepts of migrant, refugee, asylum seeker with the aim of critically observing the context and the situation in which refugees are recognized in the European context. It is crucial to understand the differences between each terminology and through a constructive knowledge, make possible the study of the Eritrean Community in Baden-Württemberg in the following chapters. The next sub-section is committed to present the transnationalism and it is used in the literature and suggests that the Eritrean Diaspora is a transnational community but also based in the long-distance Nationalism (cf. chapter 5). While the first section explains the individual concepts, the last section analyzes the collective terms and how they are presented in the literature. High recommend authors regarding these themes are Cohen, Faist, Brubacker, Eder, Portes, Vertovec, Brettel, Kukathas, Glick-Schiller, Kibreab, Levitt, Guarnizo, Clifford, Handerson, Laguerre, Safran, and Wahlbeck. Those scholars were also used predominantly for the preparation of this chapter.

1.1. Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers

“We are living in an age of migration”

Castles and Miller

Migrants

During the last years, migration had increased in a global projection, even this issue actually not an actual phenomenon. Since earliest times, humanity has been on the move, relocation from point A to point B. Some people move in search of new economic opportunities or fleeing from war or global warming.²⁰

The human mobility happens since several millennia but its study is quite a new appreciation of the recent scholars, conferring a name as “migration studies” (Gabaccia, 2015).

²⁰ In this investigation, I assume that labour migrants, refugees and asylum seekers have conceptual differences. This issue will be better explained in the sub-section “refugees”.

According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2011), migration is the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition, and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification.

A migrant, or also founded in the literature as economic or labor migrant, is a person who leaves his/her place of origin regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is. IOM (2011) concerns itself with migrants and migration-related issues and, in agreement with relevant States, with migrants who are in need of international migration services.

On the other hand, it can be the concept of a migrant may include refugee status, the same does not apply the reverse. This happens because the concept of migrant encompasses several categories, more generally that of a person who makes a voluntary decision to move from his place of origin for reasons of personal convenience. This criteria distinguish the term migrant from a refugee since he has a well-founded fear of being persecuted in his State of origin and for that reason does not want, or can not, request the protection of those countries (Arias, 2017:2)²¹

The pertinent point to highlight this both terms for the IOM is the fact that normally, the term refugee is included in the "migrant" category. It is possible to understand when the motivation of the exit is voluntary or not. However, is a refugee also a migrant?

Refugees

The migration studies are paying more attention to the question related to the forced migration policies and putting in evidence the "refugees studies" or "forced migration studies" (Brettel, 2015). The etymology of the term "refugee" can be found as an experience, a status or a person. The refugee experience that Stein (1981) focused is a relevant stand in the refugee studies which this investigation can be included.

Following the International Organization for Migration (IOM), a refugee is a person who flees in an involuntary way. "Owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinions,

²¹ Author's own translation.

is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (2011).

According to some current sociological scholars, it is important to strongly separate the definition of migrant (economic migrant and labor migrants), Refugee and Asylum Seeker. The empathic points in this separation are the involuntary home leaving and the lack of choice which normally lead the escape on the refugee's case.

“Unlike the immigrants, a refugee is forced to leave his country of origin by forces which he cannot control. Refugees move against their will” (Kibreab, 1987:5).

The involuntary sense is also agreed by Arias (2016:7):

The concept of the economic migrant presents several differences in comparison of a concept of a refugee. On the one hand, the economic migrant leaves his or her residence in order to improve their quality of life. The refugee leaves the country of origin because of the possibility of a reasoned fear of persecution by the state where you lived or for reasons of conflict.²²

Another important point that differs both categories are the policies directed to each status. In fact, a refugee was an asylum seeker after the international law recognizes him/her as a refugee.

The migration law is defined in the national sphere. The refugees are defined and protected in international law. The 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol as well as other legal texts, such as the 1969 Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Refugee Convention, remain the cornerstone of modern refugee protection. (UNHCR, 2016). Despite that, the Convention of 1951 establishes the principle of *non-refoulement*. This is one of the basic principles of international law where the state commits itself to a person who is fleeing from persecution within of your country of origin is not 'returned', since your life may be at risk. According to IOM (2006:68):

Principle of international refugee law that prohibits States from returning refugees in any manner whatsoever to countries or territories in which their lives or freedom may be threatened. The principle of non-refoulement is considered by many authors as part of customary international law, while for others the two requirements for the existence of a customary norm are not met.

²² Author's own translation.

This concept allows the right of life for a person and agrees with the human rights in fact that the coming back home travel could be dangerous for the individual.

According to Oswald (2007:75), the category “refugee” has four subcategories:

- 1) Returnees: It is a refugee, who came back to its homeland;
- 2) Internally Displaced Persons: Person who do not cross the limits of its homeland;
- 3) Stateless: Person who does not have any citizenship;
- 4) Asylum Seeker: Person who already applied for asylum in a country, but do not have an answer.²³

Since 2015, in the German agenda, the new debate is about the terminology *Flüchtling* or *Geflüchtete*²⁴. Both terms are translated into English as a refugee, but even used as synonyms in the German language, there are mainly arguments to potentially make the people aware to change the terms. The first is the end *-ling* which has some negative connotations. The second reason to not use *Flüchtling* is that this term does not have a feminine version, giving it a misogynist overtone. The last one is that the morphology of the word in the past participle evidences the never-ending of the refugee condition and always needing help from others. Nobody would like to be a refugee forever. An important reference about the refugee conditions is manifested by Hannah Arendt (1943:264) in *we refugees*: “With us, the meaning of the term “refugee” has changed. Now “refugees” are those of us who have been so unfortunate as to arrive in a new country without means and have to be helped by refugee committees.”

The UNHCR in 2016 reported that the migrant and refugee terms have different meanings and if it is not well defined can bring a problem to both populations. Those problems are related to the policies and decision-makers involved in the process of refugees and asylum seekers. The asylum seeker, a term often used in the literature and media will be defined in the next section.

²³ Author's own translation.

²⁴ Even the most high ministerium for migration issues in Germany calls *BAMF – Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* and uses the terms as synonym.



Figure 3: Refugee or Migrant? [UNHCR, 2016]

Asylum Seekers

The last definition brought on this section is for the term “asylum seeker”. According to the list of the key term of the IOM, an asylum seeker is a person who seeks safety from persecution or serious harm in a country other than his or her own and awaits a decision on the application for refugee status under relevant international and national instruments. In case of a negative decision, the person must leave the country and need to be expelled, as may any non-national in an irregular or unlawful situation, unless permission to stay is provided on humanitarian or other related grounds (2011).

These international law spliced in the IOM definition for asylum seeker is based on the Dublin Regulation adopted since 2003 to control the asylum system in Europe. Event this is an international regulation, each EU member must be able to determine the asylum decision.

Another important point in the asylum process is the time to come back home. According to this use of the concept, asylum-seekers and refugees may be returned to countries where they have or could have, sought asylum and where their safety would not be jeopardized, whether in that country or through return therefrom to the country of origin. (UNHCR, 1991)

Since 2003, the regulation has suffered many changes. The Dublin III entered into force in July 2013 and it contains procedures for the protection of asylum applicants and improves the system’s efficiency. Another evaluation occurred in 2015 when the Commission committed studies on the external evaluation on the implementation of the Dublin III Regulation and an evaluation report in view of the reform of the Dublin system as foreseen in the European Agenda on Migration. The last appraisal was on May 2016,

when the Dublin IV Regulation proposal as part of its proposed reform of the Common European Asylum System, the Commission presented a draft proposal to make the Dublin System more transparent and enhance its effectiveness. (European Parliament, 2016).

1.2. Transnationalism

Some new migration researchers are giving attention to the maintaining of various forms of contact with people and institutions in their places of origin, however, the concept of transnationalism is also not new. International migration tends to go hand-in-hand with intensive economic, social and cultural bonds between migrants and their family members and relatives at home (Engbersen et. al., 2003). Despite that the transnationalism is not a new phenomenon, the globalization is challenging the traditional migration ways which the transnationalism has been evidenced. “Technological developments have made it possible for migrants and refugees to sustain transnational social relations and networks more easily than was previously the case” (Wahlbeck, 2002). As mentioned before, this research brings a multidisciplinary framework, in spite that the key term “transnationalism” in diverse points of views, as a consequence that the literature dedicated to this issue had become contested. Steven Vertovec (1999) argues:

A review of recent research across several disciplines does not surprisingly find a wide variety of descriptions surrounding meanings, processes, scales, and methods concerning the notion of ‘transnationalism.’ Here, several clusters or themes are suggested by way of disentangling the term. These include transnationalism as a social morphology, as a type of consciousness, as a mode of cultural reproduction, as an avenue of capital, as a site of political engagement, and as a reconstruction of ‘place’ or locality.

Whether we talk of transnational social spaces, transnational social fields, transnationalism or transnational social formations in international migration systems, we usually refer to sustained ties of persons, networks, and organizations across the borders across multiple nation-states, ranging from little too highly institutionalized forms. (Faist, 2010).

The nature of contemporary transnationalism among migrants has also evolved in recent years in light of shifting political and economic circumstances in both sending and receiving countries (Vertovec, 2001).

Basch et. al. (1994) point out that the etymology of the transnational is related to connections. She argues that the immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement. The main point in the definition which interconnected the goals of this investigation and the concept of Basch et. al is those link with the homeland and the host country explained.

The transnationalism concept appears in the literature related to many different other terms, such as transnational spaces and communities (Faist, 2010), transmigrants (Basch et. al., 1992), perspective (Brettel, 2015; Levitt, 2004), practices and processes (Guarnizo, 1998; Engbersen et. al 2003), and finally advocacy and activism (Clifford, 2013) . For this dissertation, the important definition is the one which indicates the transnational spaces and communities as highlights.

Brettel (2015) also explores the transnational space etymology. Are scholars of immigration talking about something totally new when they use the term “transnational space”? Although the practices are not new, they are quantitatively and qualitatively different.

In the case of the Eritrean Refugee Community in Germany, Bettina Conrad (2010) suggests that “long-distance nationalism” might be a better term to use than “transnationalism” when describing the Eritrean diaspora’s attitude toward its homeland. The implications and application of those terms to the Eritrean Community in Baden-Württemberg will be explored in Chapter 5.

1.3. Community, Diaspora and Exile

Community

The concept of community has been widely studied in diverse areas of the social sciences. The most trivial, a community is an association constituted for more than one person having something in common.

However, the term “community” can be used to describe many aspects as collective identity (in this case, sense of community), political community and transnational space, important terms for this dissertation.

For this research, the first and prime definition of Community chosen is from Thomas Faist (2008:23):

Communities constitute the cement that integrates the members of concrete communities into values of trust, reciprocity, and solidarity,

bounded by rights and obligations of members towards each other. Rights and duties delimit the boundaries of communities, which may rest on diverse mechanisms such as kinship lineage, shared knowledge and values, belief in common institutions or religious beliefs.

Admitting that this dissertation studies the process of share knowledge, values and solidarity between the “old” and “new refugees” Faist summarizes and translate the concept of community that this investigation aims to bring in the case of the Eritreans in BW.

The term “Community” is also often used as an emotion, as a sensation or sense²⁵. This feeling is related to collective identity (see chapter 5) and used as a synonym of sense of belonging.

Another usual association with “community” is a “political community” and an “international community”. As the collective identity mentioned before, the use of “political” and “international community” is usually used by international relations scholars. One of the highly worthy authors about this issue is Chandan Kukathas (2003) who in *The Liberal Archipelago* argues that a political community is essentially an association of individuals who share an understanding of what is public and what is private.

Many sociological and anthropological scholars explore the definition of the term often explained as “transnational community”²⁶. Following the figure below from Faist (2010), the transnational communities (also called transnational spaces) are examples of diasporas and commonly used as an analog for communities disperses around the world.

²⁵ See Eder (2009)

²⁶ For example: Portes (1997), Vertovec (2001), Faist (2010) and Brettel (2015)

Types of transnational social spaces	Primary resources in ties	Main characteristic	Typical examples
<i>Transnational kinship groups</i>	<i>Reciprocity</i> : what one party receives from the other requires some return	Upholding the <i>social norm</i> of equivalence	<i>Remittances</i> of household or family members from country of immigration to country of emigration: e.g., contract workers
<i>Transnational circuits</i>	<i>Exchange</i> : mutual obligations and expectations of the actors; outcome of instrumental activity (e.g. the tit-for-tat principle)	Exploitation of <i>insider advantages</i> : language; strong and weak social ties in peer networks	<i>Trading networks</i> , e.g., Chinese, Lebanese and Indian business people
<i>Transnational communities</i>	<i>Solidarity</i> : shared ideas, beliefs, evaluations and symbols; expressed in some sort of collective identity	Mobilization of <i>collective representations</i> within (abstract) symbolic ties: religion, nationality, ethnicity	<i>Diasporas</i> : e.g., Jews, Armenians, Palestinians, Kurds; <i>frontier regions</i> : e.g., Mexico-US; Mediterranean

Figure 4: Three types of transnational social spaces arising from international migration and flight [Faist, 2010]

In the case of the Eritreans in Germany, the terminology used by Nina von Nolting (2001), was *Gemeinschaft*, Community in German. She intends to use the term to bring the notion of partnership and solidarity, once that the term *Gemeinschaft* comes with *Exil* (in English, Exile). Conrad (2010:70) argues another meaning for the term community when it is combined with extra terms.

(...) the term "community" has also often been specified by adding "refugee" or "exile" to it, thus drawing a sharp distinction between themselves and labor migrants. This again reflects their strong emphasis on the forced nature of their immigration and highlights long-distance nationalism and the myth of return as the community's most outstanding features.

For Chavis and McMillan (1986:9), the definition of Community is composed of four important elements, which in all of them, the especially study case of this dissertation can be validated.

Our proposed definition has four elements. The first element is the membership. Membership is the feeling of belonging or of sharing a sense of personal relatedness. The second element is an influence, a sense of mattering, of making a difference to a group and of the group mattering to its members. The third element is reinforcement: integration and fulfillment of needs. This is the feeling that members'

needs will be met by the resources received through their membership in the group. The last element is shared emotional connection, the commitment, and belief that members have shared and will share history, common places, time together, and similar experiences.

In the next section the term diaspora will be explored and reasons why the Eritreans in BW can be defined as part of a diaspora.

Diaspora

Define the term “diaspora” is a challenge in the migration studies. Handerson (2015) argues that the practical sense of the term diaspora would be an epistemological and analytical confrontation²⁷. Safran (1991:83) highlights the most recognized diaspora in the literature: The Jewish diaspora. “Diaspora had a very specific meaning: the exile of the Jews from their historic homeland and their dispersion throughout many lands, signifying as well the oppression and moral degradation implied by that dispersion”. The term diaspora have been applied for the dispersion of the to Cubans and Mexicans in the United States, Pakistanis in Britain, Maghrebis in France, Turks in Germany, Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, Greek and Polish minorities, Palestinian Arabs, Blacks in North America and the Caribbean, Indians and Armenians in various countries, Corsicans in Marseilles, and even Flemish-speaking Belgians living in communal enclaves in Wallonia.

According to Brubacker (2006) It is this that enables one to speak of a diaspora as a distinctive ‘community’, held together by a distinctive, active solidarity, as well as by relatively dense social relationships, that cut across state boundaries and link members of the diaspora in different states into a single ‘transnational community’. While Brubacker does not give criteria for the term diaspora, Faist (2010:197) argues that a diaspora can only be called transnational communities, if the members also develop some significant symbolic ties to the receiving country.

Another scholar who discoursed about diaspora as an analog of the transnational community is Vertovec (1999).

(...) Diaspora is the term often used today to describe practically any population which is considered ‘deterritorialized’ or ‘transnational’ -- that is, which has originated in a land other than which it currently

²⁷ Author's own translation.

resides, and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe.

Another relevant scholar that it is assumed in this research which connected the concept of diaspora and transnational community is Caroline Brettel (2006:329). She manifest that “Diasporas form out of transnational communities that span sending and receiving countries and out of the real or imagined connections between migrants from a particular homeland who are scattered throughout the world. If a fiction of congregation takes hold, then a Diaspora emerges.”

Levitt (2001:202), as the same time that admits the terminology transnational communities as building blocks of potential diaspora, argues that both terms have conceptual differences, contrasting Vertovec (1999), Faist (2010) and Brubaker (2006). Some scholars in migration studies are dedicating researches in the diasporas around the world. An attempt theoretical paradigm about the diasporic issues is possible to identify though Laguerre (1998), in *Diasporic Citizenship: Haitian Americans in Transnational America*. He defines diaspora as:

(...) displacement and reattachment . . . It refers to re- rootedness, that is living in another state, and implies transnationality in its relations with the homeland . . . The diasporic subject is located vis- a- vis two states: the host state where he is considered to be a hyphenated citizen, and the homeland where he is identified as an insider/outsider, not a foreigner, but someone whose allegiance is shared with another nation-state.

Another paradigm to be evidenced in this dissertation is the research of Handerson (2015), who also studied the Haitian diaspora in Brazil, Suriname, and French Guinea. For him, the term diaspora is just a “central model” giving some classified criteria for what is a diaspora. In this case, the lexical history of the term was dispensed and the practical uses of the term diaspora starting from reality and from ethnographic content of the word between Haitians and foreigners, different contexts of interaction, exploring the esoteric meanings of categories²⁸.

When the reality is moved toward the Eritrean diaspora in Germany, Nicole Hirt (2013) referred to the case of the Eritrean refugees as a diaspora or diaspora community. She

²⁸ Author's own translation.

argues that the Eritrean to flee their home country every month and join the diaspora, transmitting an idea of location or position and not exactly as a situation.

Bettina Conrad (2010:70), transits between the three terms explored in this section. She discusses the etymology of diaspora arguing it is not an emic term but that the “Eritrean in Germany may well be labeled a diaspora, but even the Eritrean prefer to speak about the Eritrean "community" a term used in a highly flexible manner.” However, until the independence, the Eritreans in Germany were most aptly characterized by calling them an "exile community". This term will be explored in the next section.

To permeate the chosen of the concept of the Diaspora in this dissertation, it was chosen to use the etymology model of Brubaker (2006), Vertovec (1999) and Cohen (2008) in sense of that the Eritrean Diaspora in Baden-Württemberg fulfills their criterias of those authors of diaspora²⁹ as a transnational community. The forced displacement of the Eritrean to BW, their collective memory of their original (or utopian³⁰) homeland, their compromise to send the remittances to their family in Eritrea, their collective commitment to the memory of martyrs of their homeland and their transnational social networks, are all features of the diasporic relations demonstrated by the Eritrean Diaspora in BW and revealed in the empirical study.

I chose to use the term Diaspora³¹ in this work. The main reason is that according to Conrad (2010), her Eritreans interviewee in diverse states in Germany used these term to designate themselves. Due to my empirical research, the major idea to identify the Eritreans in Baden-Württemberg as diaspora is the feeling that gets together the refugees who arrived in 2015 between themselves and the refugees which live longer in the state. Despite that, actually the best expression. could be *Gemeinschaft*³² or bringing a deeper meaning of their “not easily back home way”, the key term Exile, conceptualized as next.

²⁹ See more in Appendix C about the common features for defining a diaspora from Cohen (2008)

³⁰ Argued by Nolting (2001)

³¹ Even, the term Diaspora as transnationalism is often used as a general concept in the recently literature to designate diverse communities in dispersion abroad, not just the classical ones “Jewish, Black or Armenian Diaspora” (See Clifford, 1994; McLoughlin in Hinnells, 2005; Handerson, 2015; Levitt, 2001)

³² The German term for Community.

Exile

As mentioned before, according to Faist (2010) the Diasporas are only transnational communities, if they have relationships with the host country. In case that this connection does not exist, these community can be characterized as an exile.

Indeed, the concept of exile is complex as a consequence of the subject meaning for diverse scholars. Some of them, just use “exile” as a metaphor for diaspora, committing to “exile” a term with multiple approaches and ways to apply.

Other scholars treat the term exile as a place. Wahlbeck (2002) writes about “a refugee experience in exile”, Nolting (2001) uses the term combined with the term *Gemeinschaft*, Hirt (2013) applies exile as a person status, Conrad (2010) in diverse situations utilize exile also as an experience and Plaut (2016) in special, as a condition in the diaspora.

The term exile often appears in the literature as “exile community”, already defined in the previous section. The most important point related with the meaning of the term (and what differs it from the diaspora or simply community) is the that *de facto* an exile person as a political exile is a person who, after persecution and flight, yearns to return to his home country. For Conrad (2010:65), thought her fieldwork in Germany, for most of the Eritrean interviewed, their condition as an exile person³³, turned to a minority but strong Community outside Eritrea, reaffirming their collective identity and link to *Heimat*³⁴, even being away.

The majority of Eritrean exiles decided to remain abroad, for the time being, not giving up, but postponing their return plans. (...) Their exile – so far perceived as temporary – was gradually transformed into a diaspora: a community that accommodates itself permanently within another society, although trying to preserve a separate identity. This transformation brought with it the need to rethink one’s relationship with Eritrea on the one, and with Germany on the other hand.

In the case of the Eritrean refugees in Baden-Württemberg, the sense of the Faist (2010) concept about the relationship with the homeland in exile fit in case of the Eritrean refugees in Baden-Württemberg. Even I consider the most suitable term for the new arrivers since 2015, is the term “diaspora”, their condition in BW can also be considered as an exiled community. Following the results of my fieldwork, only one of my

³³ Assuming that a person who lives in exile can not have any link to her/his homeland.

³⁴ More about this theme in Chapter 5.

interviewed Eritrean refugee in BW desire to come back home, but with one precondition: A relevant politics change, where she could back safe.

This was clear when I spoke with Madidah, in Friedrichshafen. She revealed her proudness being Eritrean outside and her connection with the country:

I love my country and you know, I am completely proud to be Eritrean (sic). I am missing my family in Keren but even if I wanted I cannot come back. Do you think that I don't think about it? The day that the president goes, I come back to Keren (Madidah, III).

The next chapter will focus on Eritrea's trajectory as a separate entity, from the colonial period up-to the present, in order to provide the background for the reader to understand why Madidah despite being so proud of her country and refusing to go back unless significant political liberatization happens: The change of the head of state, the current President Isaias Afewerki.

CHAPTER 2

ERITREA AS COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

“Eines wissen wir alle mit sicherheit über Eritrea: dass wir nämlich nichts wissen.”

Phillip Müller³⁵

This chapter aims to describe Eritrea in historical, social, political and economic aspects. In the first section, will be possible to comprehend the most important events that denote the historical context of the country and then provide a general overview of Eritrea. The second section supplies a better understanding of the religion aspects in Eritrea and the last one the current situation of the country, intersecting those situation and the possible drivers for the Eritrean exodus in the last years.

2. 1. Eritrean Historical Context: From Colonialism to Independence

Plaut (2016) briefly encircles the history of Eritrea in five periods: Italian colonialism (1886-1941), British military rule (1942-1952), Federation with Ethiopia (1952-1960), the struggle of liberation (1961-1991) and the post-Independence era (1991-present).

In 1885, after the withdrawal of the Egyptian domain of the region, the British helped the Italian troops to occupy Massawa, that later was united to the already colonized port of Assab to consolidate the possession of the coast of the Red Sea by Italy. From 1870, the Italians began to settle along the Eritrean coast. To combat the French expansion in the region, the Britains changed its position to support the Egyptian domain in the country and then to support the Italian colonization of the country.

In 1935, Italy managed to overcome the Ethiopian Empire and decreed that Eritrea and Somalia were known as East Italian Africa. The development of regional transport links at this time around the Eritrean territory, Sudan and other countries off the coast of the Red Sea, produced an extremely fast but underdeveloped economic boom.

Negash (2005:142) argues that one of the barriers for the Eritrean development under Italian control was the rising of the Assab and the competition with the Massawa port. Some factories were dependent on imported materials to produce and later, they could compete with the Eritrean factories which had though Massawa Port their materials.

³⁵ “One thing we all know for sure about Eritrea: that we do not know anything”. Speech from Phillip Müller, Swiss Politician about Eritrea.

The map below shows the African colonies that formed the Eastern African Italy and the trade routes of the region. It is possible to underline the strategic position of Eritrea in the the Red Sea trade.



Figure 5: Italian Colonies in the Horn of Africa [Stamp World History]

In 1889, Italy took advantage of the uncertain situation created by the death of Emperor John IV (Ethiopian Emperor) to occupy the highlands and, with the help of indigenous people, succeeded Eritrea. This occupation was accepted by the new Ethiopian monarch, Menelik II. On January 1, 1890, the Italian government announced the creation of the Eritrean colony, taking its name from the ancient Greek name for the Red Sea, *Erythreus*. Massawa became the capital of the new colony, before being replaced by Asmara in 1897 (Connell, 2019:6)

The apprehension of Italians from vast tracts of agricultural fields in the highlands of the indigenous population triggered an anti-colonial revolt. In response, the Italians invaded the Tigray region but faced resistance from the Ethiopian troops, who defeated their territory at the Battle of Adua in 1896. However, “Italy was humiliated since the defeat represented one of the few victories “natives” troops inflicted on a European power during the colonial era” (Plaut, 2016:9). In the ensuing peace treaty, Emperor Menelik II renounced the Ethiopian claims to the Italian colony in exchange recognition of Ethiopia as an independent State, not taking part in the *L’ Africa Orientale Italiana*.

The Italian administration launched its first development projects in Eritrea from the late 1880s. In 1887, the construction of the Eritrea railway connecting Massawa to Saati began

and in 1911 this railway reached Asmara. This is only one example of the development program of the Italian government in its new colony.

In addition, the Italians built a modern infrastructure of ports, roads, telecommunications, factories, administrative centers and police stations that unified the colony under a centralized government, obviously an Italian one.

Eritrea's position in the Red Sea trade had been used by previous trade recognition of the territories of Sudan and Somalia, which surround it on the sides of the land and the main port of the Red Sea.

The Italian authorities living in the colony believed in the importance of establishing themselves in a country with a strategic position like Eritrea and in particular in Massawa. The strategic position of the country lifted Eritrea from commercial obscurity and required special attention of the metropolis and the interest of world traders. For this reason, Eritrea became particularly known to those who were interested in trading the Red Sea.

From 1922, Benito Mussolini's raise to power in Italy transformed the colony, making it his base to implement his expansionist ambitions in the Horn of Africa. His ambition was that the Italian Empire would re-exist and would like to start in Eritrea (OHCHR, 2015). In 1935, thousands of Italian workers and soldiers were preparing for the second invasion of Ethiopia. In May 1936, Mussolini declared the birth of Italian East Africa, the Italian Empire of East Africa comprising Eritrea, Somalia and recently conquered Ethiopia. Eritrea became the industrial and economic center of the empire. At that time, about 60 percent of working-age male Eritreans found employment in the industrial sector and in the 2.138 factories in Eritrea in 1939; others were recruited into the Italian army (OHCHR, 2015:22).

From 1941-1950, in the power of the Eritrean territory was with the British army, after a in the early 1941 the British forces moved from Sudan into Eritrea, where the Italians was defeated in a battle for the strategic town of Keren. Asmara was settled in April, 1941. According to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) (2015:22) under British power, the unions and political engagement rised in Eritrea:

(...) Eritrea then fell under British military administration, which proceeded to dismantle many industries and most of the infrastructure as war compensation. At the same time, the British set the foundations for Eritrean political engagement and organizations by allowing trade unions, political parties and publications.

During the first half of the 20th century, with the Italians in possession of Eritrea, Ethiopia was landlocked. The defeat of Italy in World War II gave for Haile Selassie, the opportunity to correct the loss of the power in Eritrea. In a meeting with the American President Roosevelt in 1945, the Emperor Selassie petitioned the U.S president to support the reunification of Ethiopia and Eritrea (USIP).

The USA, seeing the chance of a naval base in the Red Sea in Massawa (The Kagnaw Station), shares an interest in the development of the Ethiopian project to incorporate Eritrea. When the United Nations considers what the future of Eritrea would look like in 1948, Washington puts pressure on its annexation to Ethiopia.

By a UN decision in 1950, Eritrea had become part of the Ethiopian territory since 1952 as an autonomous federal province with its own constitution and elected government. In the same year, a transitional Eritrean administration took control, bringing the temporary British regime to end in the region. About the UN Assembly about the Eritrean independence, Conrad (2010:32) argues:

The eventual decision over Eritrea's future was a compromise based on international geopolitics rather than on the wishes and feelings of its people. Considering Ethiopia an important ally in the emerging East-West confrontation, a majority of the UN General Assembly voted on 2 September 1950 for Eritrea to be federated with Ethiopia.

Within the territory formerly Eritrean and now Ethiopian, opinion was divided, largely along religious lines, on the issue of union with the Christian Ethiopia. On the other hand, the Muslim League created a year later to campaign for Eritrean independence. In this election, the pro-union failed to win an absolute majority. The Eritrean government was therefore primarily a coalition.

Aware that there would be a pro-independence agitation, Haile Selassie interferes to ensure its purpose. With the help of the Christian emperor, trade unionists eliminate Muslims from government jobs, ended the teaching in Arabic, ban all other political parties (1958) and unions (1959), introduce Christian Ethiopian law and gave the Eritrean government a new nomination.

Likewise, this degree of unanimity also now exists on the opposite side. In 1960, Eritrean Muslim leaders, who live in exile, form the ELF to fight for independence. In the mid-1960s, they have a guerrilla force operating in western Eritrea and in a few years, they cease to be a purely Muslim movement. Shortly after the union in 1962, Haile Selassie

interferes in the schools of Tigre, banishing the Tigrinya, and replacing it by Amharic. This attitude made many Christians aware for the cause of independence.

According to OHCHR (2015) on 1 September 1961, Haile Selassie and his companions fired the first shots of what would become the 30-year armed struggle for independence. One year later, on 14 November 1962, Ethiopian troops forced the Eritrean Parliament to dissolve. On that day, Eritrea was officially annexed as Ethiopia's fourteenth province.

In these circumstances, and with the persecuted leaders of the independence movement now living abroad, the result is inevitable. The Ethiopian and Eritrean parliaments finally have to discuss the issue of unification in November 1962. Unanimously in Addis Ababa and Asmara, it is agreed that the Eritrean federal statute in Ethiopia is abolished. The area now had become a province like any other in the Ethiopian empire.

2.1.1 The Liberation and Dictatorship



Figure 6: Banner at Harnet Avenue, Asmara [Beatris Santos, 2019]

A referendum in 1993 made Eritrea independent. The votes cast totaled ninety-nine percent of the total. In the next month, the long dream of freedom becomes a reality. The EPLF secretary, Isaias Afwerki, becomes president of a transitional government.

The referendum took place between 23 and 25 April 1993 where 99.8 per cent of the 1,102,410 voters – who resided in Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan and other countries – vote for Eritrean independence. On 24 May 1993, Eritrea officially became an independent State (OHCHR, 2015).

In 1994, the EPLF completes its transformation from a guerrilla organization to a political party. It is now known as the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ). This remains until the days as the only political party in Eritrea. In the same year, there were rumors of the creation of new parties to allow other parties to function, but the PFDJ - with the intention of avoiding the reopening of ancient wounds - forbids any party on a purely ethnic and religious basis.

Within a few years of independence, relations between Eritrea and Ethiopia, initially cordial, became tense in a border dispute. This resulted in another bloody conflict, the Eritrean-Ethiopian war. About this inter-state war, Dias (2011:87) expresses:

Eritrea's decision on 12 May 1998 to move its regular armoured forces to the disputed border village Badme, and its environs, escalated the crisis leading to the military engagement between Eritrean and Ethiopian regular armed forces. The move by the Eritrean Defence Force (EDF) triggered Ethiopia's formal announcement in Parliament, on 13 May 1998, of its determination to act in defence of its sovereignty if Eritrean forces failed to withdraw from the disputed areas. The chapter covers the period from May 12, 1998 until the December 12.2000 Algiers peace agreement.

The border issue is still contentious, although this war is over. However, since July 2018 with the "joint declaration of peace and friendship" signed in Saudi Arabia which establishes the ties between both countries. The issue of access to the sea, one reason why Ethiopia wanted to keep Eritrea in its territory, also remains contentious and may result in greater regional instability. Ethiopians argue that lack of access to the sea has economic consequences that make it difficult to trade and export and import goods.

About the creation of a new state and new borders, Dias (2011:217) states:

(...) territorial disputes in the horn of Africa persisted even after the colonial period. The nature of the process of creating colonial frontiers sowed factors for future disputes. Four major players were involved in this process: Ethiopia and three external powers - Great Britain, France, and Italy.

After this inter-state war between Eritrea and Ethiopia, the situation do not changed positively. Concerning this situation, Woldemikael (2018:7) expoundes:

Postwar Eritrea brought neither peace nor prosperity to the population under its control, nor did it resolve the crisis of citizenship and identity affecting its population. This is not surprising, considering that Eritrea had long been in a state of crisis, first as colony of Italy, then under Ethiopian rule, and then subsequently during thirty years of nationalist war that destroyed the social and economic infrastructure of the society. The structural challenges of nation building and constructing the new Eritrean state were nearly insurmountable. Eritrea, a nationalist movement turned into a state, had neither the economic and political resources nor the organizational capacity to tackle the challenges effectively.

According to Habte (2011), the genesis of modern Eritrea is like in the rest of Africa. What makes the Eritrean case unique is the fact that the people had to endure not only Italian colonization and Mussolini's ideas of making Asmara a small Rome but also the brutal oppression of a fellow African neighbor. Eritrea was also the only one of the 53 European colonies in Africa that its independence was not immediately recognized. Nowadays, the oppression comes from the President Afwerki. The adjective “unequal” to the current system of the Eritrean government is used by Woldemikael (2018:12):

In the last twenty years of independence under the leadership of President Afwerki, the Eritrean state has created a differentiated, hierarchical, unequal system of citizenship. This hierarchy ranges from what may be called super citizenship for the top echelons of the government and party members, to local persons' status as subjects, with few rights and little chance of upward mobility.

In the last sections the themes around the Eritrean historical background were highlighted. The Eritrea as a independe state and the the proud of all the forces dedicated to the war of independence can be noticed in the current nationalism of an Eritrean citizen. The next sub-section wil bring an overview about the religion aspects in Eritrea, another important element in the Eritrean identity.

2.2. The Religion aspects of Eritrea

ERITREIA

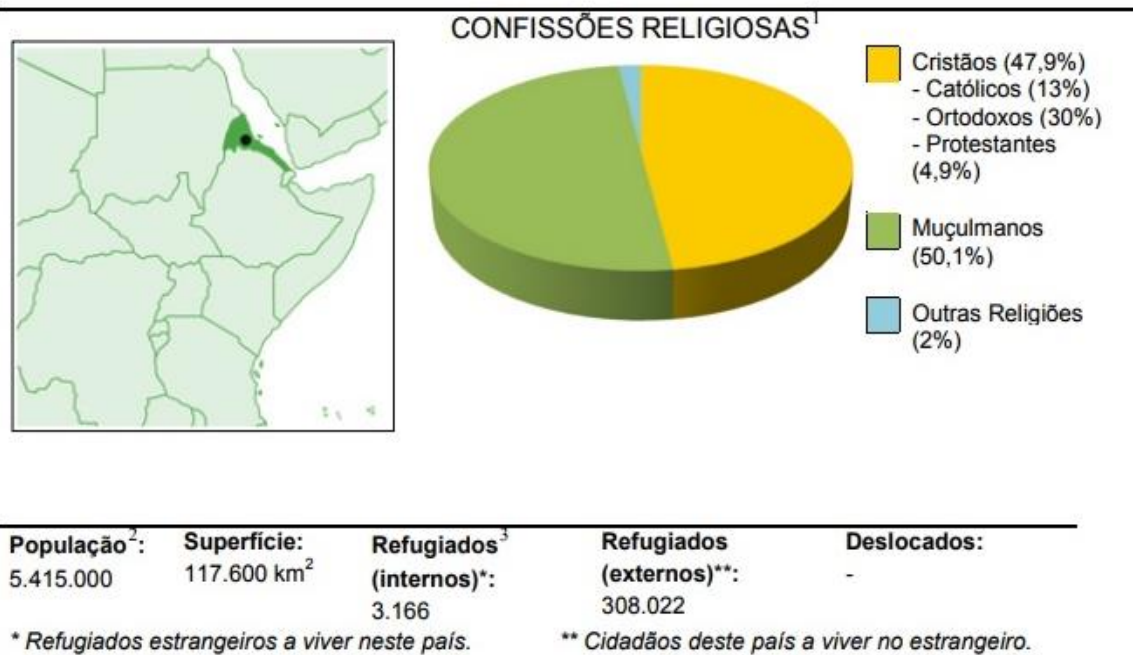


Figure 7: Religious Confessions in Eritrea [ACN, 2014]

The population of Eritrea in its home country is equally divided between Christians and Muslims. According to the Figure 3, where the *Ajuda à Igreja que sofre* or Aid to the Church in Need (ACN), a German association dedicated to the support of persecuted Christian churches around the world, exposes the percentages of the religion confessions in Eritrea. In yellow, the Christians are divided in 13 percent Catholics, 30 percent Orthodox and 4,9 percent Protestants. In green, the Muslims with 50,1 percent of the total population and in blue, 2 percent of other nonspecific religions.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Muslims and Christians actively participated during the liberation struggle, creating a strong sense of coexistence among the combatants. Conscious of the challenges associated with building a national identity and promoting a non-segregated view of Eritrean society, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front was uniformly led between Muslims and Christians. The current government, under the same pretexts and leaders of the EPLF, has maintained this strategy, and today the balance between the two religions remains friendly. The positions of the state mechanism present appear to be carefully preserved. However, government attitudes - justified by some as promoting stability and national unity - sought to undermine the potential of the politicization of Islam, or the mobilization of the broadly based Eritrean Muslim

population along the lines of a politicized identity. About the relationship between religion and identity, Plaut (2016:173), highlights:

The identity has always been complex precisely because it represents a diverse population. Eritrea's people are roughly divided equally between two major religions: Islam and Christianity. They speak nine different languages. Most of the eastern and western lowland areas are inhabited by predominantly Muslim Ethnic groups. The majority of the highlanders belong to the Tigrinya ethnic group and the Orthodox Christians.

The choice of Arabic, the sacred language of Islam, as one of the official languages with Tigrinya, is just one example of this Muslim movement in the country. The Muslim movement in Eritrea is stated by Miran (2015: 178):

In a very real sense Eritrea's heterogeneous Muslim societies reflect this kaleidoscopic historical configuration: they belong to different ethnic groups; speak a variety of Semitic, Cushitic and Nilo-Saharan languages; practice various modes of production, and are socially and politically organized in diverse ways. More importantly, for our purposes, Muslim societies in Eritrea have adopted Islam in distinctive periods and in different ways, and have appropriated Muslim beliefs and practices in varying modes and intensities.

The attitudes undoubtedly were fueled by several factors: the traumatic politicization of religion in the 1940s, the ideological leanings of the Eritrean Liberation Front and its combined groups, the articulation of the radical jihadist and the discourses of the Eritrean Islamic movements. since the 1980s. The positions, in turn, have carried out easily disturbed Muslim sensibilities, which they perceive as a reflection of the pervasive Christian hegemony in the new government. These factors have contributed to the reification of Islam not only in Eritrea, but throughout the horn of Africa (Miran 2005: 214).

About the role of religion in the Eritrean history, Dias (2011:117) states:

(...) During Eritrea's insurgency, Ethiopia's emphasis on the need to defend Eritrea as part of the true "civilization" was revived in two ways: i) the long-standing medieval myth of the Orthodox Christian Kingdom in Africa: Ethiopia as the bulwark of Christianity against

Islamic expansion, and ii) the myth of Ethiopia as the bulwark of independent statehood in Africa against European colonialism. In the two instances, Ethiopia's unity in the face of "external aggression" was implicitly celebrated.

2.3. Current political, social and economic situation in Eritrea and the massive exodus

A priori, it is important to contextualize the current political and economic situation of the country in question in order to understand what the Eritreans are fleeing and henceforth, in if the current situation is a driver of their exit.

According to Bariagaber (2006:17), the migratory flows of newly independent African countries have many reasons. Some refugees flee from repressive regimes, others see exile as a strategic "exit" from a multi-ethnic state dominated by a small isolated group because they do not see a state even in the future. There are still others who flee because of internal civil wars and against other neighboring countries.

Brücker et. al (2016) reveals that Eritrean refugees have often reported political persecution. The government regime is a dictatorship and long or indefinite military service is recurrent among the country's youth.

When the first motive mentioned above is deepened, a concept explored by Tinti and Reitano (2017:17) characterizes the Eritrean State as "North Korea of Africa"³⁶ linking the two countries through the cessation of democracy and freedom.

At the time of writing this thesis, Eritrea is about 26 years old, but there was never any other political choice in the small country of the Horn of Africa. The only change that has taken place since the mid-2000s is the growing outflow of the asylum population elsewhere.

The UN refugee agency calculates that in the end of 2018, there were over 500.000 Eritrean refugees worldwide – a high number for a country of around 5 million people (Belloni, 2019).

They flee from a dictatorial government, which has now extended military service originally of eighteen months for life - and soldiers are still being used for forced labor.

About the national service, Dias (2011:191) states:

³⁶ Unfortunately, I could find any scholar who disagree with this attribute. In contrast, many mainstream media websites agree with that (as Forbes and Spiegel Online).

In 1994 the government of Eritrea promulgated a national service proclamation,¹⁰² which was mandatory (and still is at the time of writing) on all citizens between the ages 18 and 40. The national service proclamation mandates an eighteen month period of service. Six months of service consist of military training in a training camp in Eritrea's western lowland: in Sawa. After military training, the National Service trainees are dispatched to different parts of the country and serve for 12 months.

These refugees normally leave for Sudan, for Ethiopia, via Djibouti to Yemen, although there is also war in that country. They cross the desert into Libya to be sent to Italy by human smugglers, or they flee Mount Sinai to Israel, where they are arrested and usually deported again. Often they do not get that far, but they are caught by bandits. The kidnapers sell the organs of their prisoners or extort large sums of the families of the victims. Thousands of Eritrean refugees are tortured, raped and mutilated before arriving at one of the ports to escape to Europe or died on the way. Eritrean was also one of the two nationalities of refugees and migrants arrived in Italy, according to Mixed Migration (2018b).

The two nationalities who were – by far – the most common origin countries of refugees and migrants arriving in Italy in 2015 and in 2016 were Nigeria and Eritrea. The total number of Nigerians and Eritreans arriving in Italy in 2015 was 50,018 and slightly lower (47,096) in the following year. Then, between 2016 and last year, the total number of Nigerian and Eritrean arrivals in Italy decreased by 66 percent. The decrease has been even more significant in 2018; in the first half of this year only 2,812 Nigerians and Eritreans arrived in Italy.

In Germany, they are among the few who have prospects of an accepted asylum. According to the UNHCR 2019's report, the Eritrean refugee population was the fourth largest in the country.

During 2018, the refugee population in Germany continued to increase, numbering 1,063,800 at the end of the year. More than half were from Syria (532,100), while other countries of origin included Iraq (136,500), Afghanistan (126,000), Eritrea (55,300), the Islamic Republic of Iran (41,200), Turkey (24,000), Somalia (23,600),

Serbia and Kosovo (S/RES/1244 (1999)) (9.200), the Russian Federation (8.100), Pakistan (7.500) and Nigeria (6.400).

In the case of Eritrea, it is believed to combine two points to the exodus: the bad living conditions and the no ending national service. The prospect of a different life, with freedom, is the most highlight amongst those interviewed in the context of the present study. The graphic below compile the answers to the question: - Please give the main reasons that motivate you to leave Eritrea³⁷.

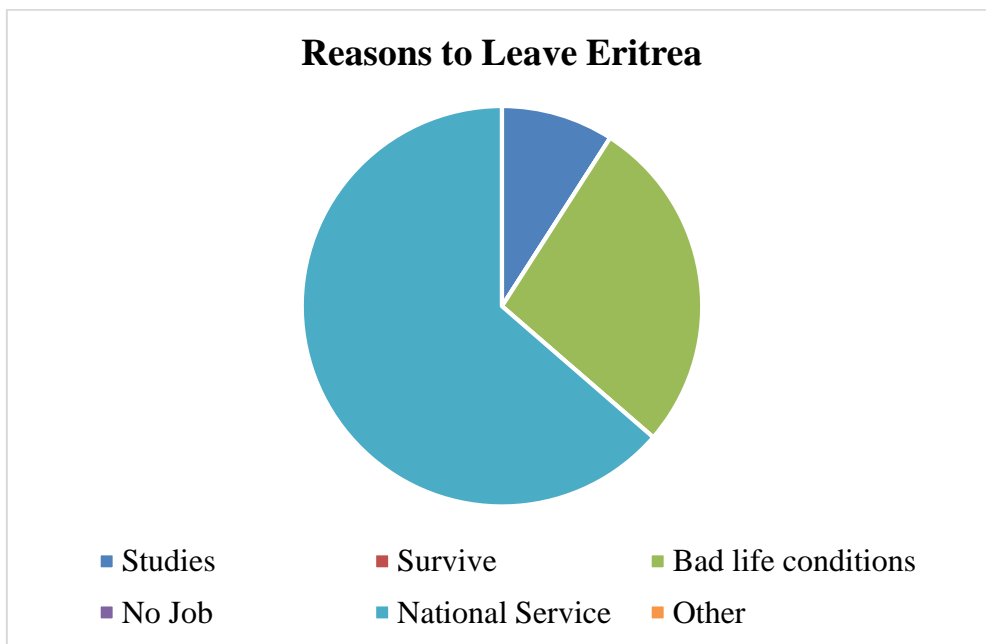


Figure 8: Reasons to Leave Eritrea [Beatris Santos, 2019]

According to the UN, in its annual Human Development Index report published in 2016, Eritrea ranks 179th, with the HDI of 0.420 considered low. Especially since 2001, the human rights situation in Eritrea has shown a rapid and significant deterioration, with the Constitution suspended and no political opinion other than the government’s ideology tolerated inside the country (Brhane, 2016:1). The Eritreans refugees usually use the route of Central Mediterranean, via Lybia, Tunisian or Egypt and as the Mixed Migration Monthly reports (2018a), in 2017, the most used route was not more via Lybia, but via Egypt.

The Central Mediterranean route is used by nearly all Eritreans use to reach Europe, in boats which depart from points along the Libyan coastline. In addition to the risks of the sea crossing, the migration

³⁷ The interviewees could cross more than one alternative in the answers.

journey from Eritrea through Libya and Sudan is extremely dangerous. Eritreans and others encounter serious human rights abuses – including slavery, kidnapping, physical and sexual abuse – and numbers of people in vulnerable and abusive circumstances in Libya has increased dramatically in the last few years.

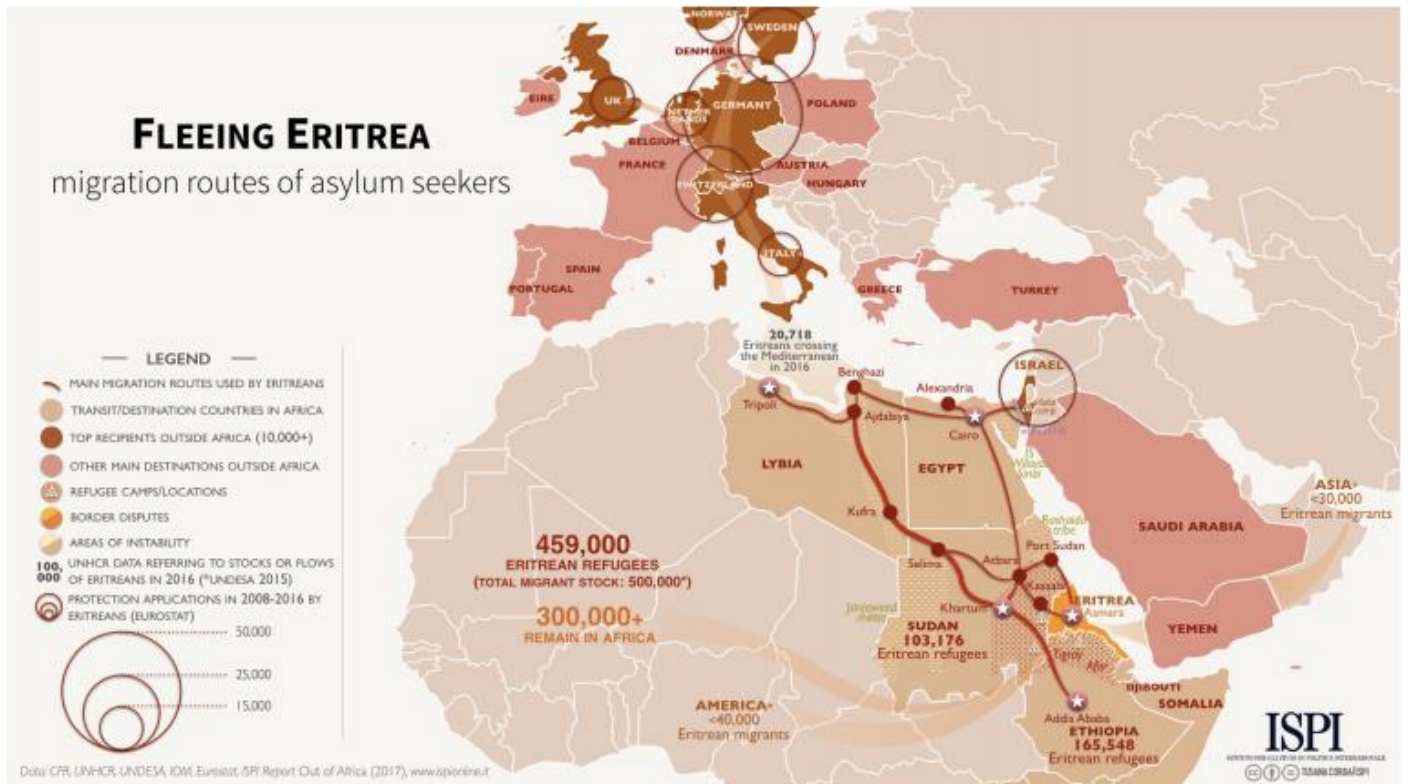


Figure 9: Migration routes of Eritrean Asylum Seekers [ISPI, 2017]

In Libya, the situation is a critic. The combination of civil war and the Islamic state is activating the chaos scenario. The refugees who arrive there, become victims of forced labor and targeted violence. For the passage to Europe, smugglers are relying on unseaworthy boats: they calculate that European patrols will pick up those seeking protection - and destroy the small ships.

2.3.1 The Development's politics of the German government in Eritrea

“Relations between the EU and Eritrea, date back to the first years of the Eritrean independence. The European Commission opened its Delegation in Asmara in 1995 and was one of the first diplomatic missions to be established” is the affirmation of the European Union on the occasion of Eritrea’s 20th independence anniversary in 2011. In the special case of Germany, the development program started effectively before the

border conflict with the neighbor Ethiopian. Until 2007, the efforts were concentrated just in the water section. In the period of 2008-2017, the projects were suspended.

On 15 December 2015, the Dr. Gerd Müller, the Minister of Economic Cooperation and Development visited the State House in Asmara in order to discuss in-depth the prospects of resuming bilateral ties of cooperation between the two countries. In this conversation, the main focus was the fight against possible fled causes, once Eritrea was the main country of origin of African refugees. The Minister Müller emphasized that the future of Eritrea lay in their own country once the government must open to economic and political reforms. Germany is basically ready to support the country, however, the prerequisite is that the government recognizes international human rights standards.

In order to get his own idea of the situation, Minister Müller met with local international organizations, representatives of youth, women's and trade union organizations as well as professionals from the health and vocational training sector. Talking to the Eritrean government, it was about exploring ways to create opportunities for the people in the country so they do not have to leave their homeland.³⁸

After this meeting, in 2016, the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit* (GIZ) prepared the next projects for Eritrea. They have an office in the Eritro-German Center in Asmara, where I interviewed an important expert for the German development program in Eritrea. This person provided me all the information contained in this section. In the next year, the project finally began. One of them, project number two was concentrated in improving opportunities for non-formal vocal training and designed for a two-year term. The target groups were primarily young people in the 15 to 24-year-old age, in particular, those whose personal and social situation means that they have little, if any, prospect of generating an adequate income or setting up a business to feed their family. The project was an official counterpart for the cooperation is the Ministry of the National Development and the technical partner for implementation is the Eritrean Ministry of Education. The last visit of the German Minister Gerd Müller in Eritrea was in 24. August 2018 when the purpose was just to express the German readiness for positive engagement in the Horn of Africa region.

The work of the German government in Eritrea has the main goal to help in the development of the country. The purpose group of the programs is the young people,

³⁸ Source: *Bundesministerium für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung* www.bmz.de/20151215-1. Author's own translation.

normally the same group that flee the homeland in all immigration history stages. The next chapter brings the focus in the transnational Eritrean community across phases and countries, ending in Germany.

CHAPTER 3

THE GLOBAL ERITREAN DIASPORA

“The money to flee from Eritrea came from Israel to me. Without this help, I could stay at Sawa Camp for the rest of my life.”³⁹

Tesfay, VII

This chapter is dedicated to providing an overview of the Eritrean diaspora worldwide. The two sections aim to explore especially the Eritrean diaspora in Europe and to the end a short explanation about the structure of the Eritrean community in Germany.

3.1. The Eritrean dispersion worldwide

In the case of Eritrea, it is important to highlight the various different periods in which the migratory flows of Eritrean nationals were greater, such as in the postwar war of independence, in the flight of the military regime, and more recently a fourth phase in which motivations are not only linked to the indefinite army service, but also to the lack of expectation on the part of the refugees. In this chapter, all those four phases and their particularities will be pointed out.

According to Bariagaber (2006), at the end of 2004, the United States Committee on Refugees estimated that the total was approximately 217.500 Eritrean and Ethiopian refugees, where about 206.000 were living in exile in Sudan. Most of the Eritrean refugees have been in exile in this country for generations because of the war of independence.

Carrying this fact to the present day, Plaut (2016:169) argues:

Exactly how many Eritreans living abroad no one knows. As with many aspects of Eritrean life, the facts are clouded and obscure. Until Independence in 1993 many were classified as Ethiopians. The Diaspora is to be founded in almost every corner of the globe: From Australia to the United States; from South Africa to Norway (...) Many remain in Sudan: 117.320 were known to the UN Refugee Agency in January 2015.

³⁹ Speech from Tesfay, one of my interlocutor about the financial support from the other Eritrean refugees in Israel that he got to fled to Europe. Author's own translation, the original speech was provided in a mixing with English and German.

There is also a very important community situated on Mount Sinai in Israel. These Eritreans, however, are the target of human trafficking by the Bedouin. According to Estefanos (2012:22), in her investigation of the human market in Sinai, she explains:

The interviews conducted for this study identified 363 persons who were held in the Sinai. The refugees originate from Eritrean, Ethiopia, and Sudan. The same information could not be asked of all interviewees, but it is clear that most of the refugees are Eritrean (mostly Tigrinya people), Christian and male. Among the captives are men, women, children, and infants.

Some communities are also found in the region of Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain, as well as in Europe, North America, and Australia. According to Hepner (2009:185), the Eritrean people worldwide form a “global diaspora”.

Decades of armed conflict, political turmoil, and cyclical drought and famine thus led an estimated 25 percent–percent of all Eritreans to seek refuge abroad between 1961 and 1991. Through refugee resettlement programs and other avenues, Eritrean migrants of different backgrounds, but shared historical experiences, formed a global diaspora distinct for its geographic spread and highly coordinated ideologies and practices of pro-independence, long-distance nationalism.

A tangible example of the concept of the Eritrean global diaspora from Hepner (2009) is the solidarity, translated in the support from Meros Stefanos, a “vintage” Eritrean refugee living in Stockholm - Sweden and her radio program “Voices of Eritrean Refugees”. Since 2008, she helps Eritrean refugees⁴⁰ through phone calls and transmitted it in her program. This situation is the main point of the *Sound of Torture* documentary, and Meros Stefanos and those refugees in Israel are the central figures of the narrative.

3.1.1. The Eritrean Community in Europe

The Eritrean diaspora can be considered as a heterogeneous group subdivided among the European countries but interconnected in four different phases, related to the period when they arrived in Europe.

⁴⁰ Mostly in Sinai Mountain and Tel Aviv in Israel

The first phase occurred between 1980 and 1991 up to the independence. Post where this group fled during the Eritrean-Ethiopian war. According to Hirt (2015:25) in this first phase, the refugees divided in relation to supporting the liberation fronts seeking for independence.

At the time of Eritrea's independence in 1993, roughly one million Eritreans had fled the armed conflict with Ethiopia and settled in neighboring Sudan, in various Middle Eastern countries, Europe, North America, and Australia. The vast majority of those Eritrean refugees supported the independence struggle from abroad, although political loyalties were divided between the ELF, which had begun the struggle in 1961 and the EPLF, which had dominated the liberation war from the mid-1980s on and led the country to independence.

In 1994, the year in which this first phase is situated, according to the UN Children's Fund UNICEF, it was estimated that 1 million Eritreans fled their country, which was equivalent to 1 Eritrean residing in Eritrea (Plaut, 2016:170). These citizens were pro-independence and most of these refugees were members of the ELF, after the EPLF which is now the PFDJ, party in power since 1993. From this wave emerged a generation of young people who were born in Europe and have already obtained an European nationality.

The second phase occurred between 1998 and 2010. They fled for a variety of reasons during and after the border conflicts with Ethiopia. This phase is engaged in political issues in Eritrea, even as in the first phase, some of them already being European nationals but still considered themselves Eritreans. Some initiatives have been put in place to mobilize young people living outside Eritrea with a view to increasing involvement in Eritrean politics. The target group of these mobilization operations was the young people living in European countries and faced problems with integration issues in their European host societies and felt like second class citizens.

According to Benhabib (1996:320), the terminology of second-class citizens refers to groups that occupy a subordinate position in their country in relation to race, gender or ethnic minority. In the case of the Eritrean diaspora in Europe, they felt underestimated because even though they were nationals of the countries where they lived, they were still marginalized by the autochthonous population.

Regarding to the PFDJ Youth association, Hirt (2015:26) explores the organization of events in order to collect more contributions to PFDJ base in Eritrea.

The PFDJ itself has actively tried to mobilize the diaspora youth abroad by establishing the Youth PFDJ as a mobilization hub in 2004. This political youth organization has developed the festival culture with seminars conducted by regime cadres that give second-generation diaspora youth the feeling of contributing to an important cause and motivates them to donate money for the scheme.

The third phase (2010-2015) has escaped the current regime run by the party supported by the first group mentioned above. This means that there is an ideological differentiation between the Eritreans arrived in the last two stages to Europe. Even of this fact, the relationship across generations seems harmonized (cf. chapter 5).

The fourth and current phase is carried out by the Eritrean refugees arrived after 2015. The length of the compulsory national military service extended from eighteen months previous to indefinite periods. Women between the ages of eighteen and twenty seven and men between the ages of eighteen and fifty are forced to serve in the army or perform civilian tasks in exchange for livelihood. For this reason, the fourth and current wave (more actively than the third, but not only) fled his country and sought to reach Europe. According to Hirt (2015:27), based on UNHCR 2015 reports, 5.000 Eritreans fled every month of the country. Many are struggling to make their way to Europe, where in 2015, the Eritreans made up the largest group of asylum seekers after Syrians.

With the outbreak of the refugee crisis in 2015, there has been an increase in the number of asylum seekers and Eritrean refugees in Germany. This research concentrated on the last and fourth phase of the Eritrean diaspora in Germany, focusing in Baden-Württemberg.

3.2. A Short History of the Eritrean Community in Germany

Basch et. al (1995) emphasize the concept of transnationalism as the economic, political and social relations of migrants, which help in the creation of social fields that cross international borders, when those refugees and asylum seekers are confronted by social exclusion both in the country of origin and in the host country. From this fact, they need to reproduce family ties in the face of the social and economic problems faced.

Particularly in Germany, the evolution of the Eritrean community was similar and at the same time as in whole Europe. Before independence, few Eritreans lived in Germany and were officially Ethiopian citizens at that time, since Eritrea was under the rule of the Haile Selassie. Most of these Eritreans were male, young, and had a college education.

Matthies (1997:68) address the same characteristics of the mainly Eritreans⁴¹ which moved to Germany at the end of the XX century:

(...) many people from the Horn of Africa come to Germany, whether students or asylum seekers and refugees. Several Ethiopians, Eritreans, and Somali received a qualified education in West Germany or East Germany; About 15-20.000 people from the region have been living in the Federal Republic of Germany for many years.

Considering the high level of the political initiative of these young people, it is likely that many of them have at some point been involved in protests even in Eritrea or in other countries that were before Germany. Even with this specificity, these young people arrived in Germany had a student status, were sailors or migrant workers, being the topic “asylum” not important for this generation. The differences between generations will be explored in chapter 5, following the concepts of Hepner (2009) and thought my Fieldwork in Baden-Württemberg.

The request for asylum was not attractive at the time, as it was easy for Ethiopian citizens (including Eritreans) to enter the country and find another way to settle their residence. The Ethiopians were free from visas and had no impediment to entering German territory. This made it possible to obtain residence permits as students or economic migrants - due to the special relationship between postwar Germany and Haile Selassie. In fact, many of the first Eritrean immigrants went to Germany with the intention to work or study. They were only granted of a refugee status after independence when the situation in Eritrea worsened and made return hazardous - especially to those involved in political movements in the diaspora. Others were actually sent abroad by the liberation fronts to organize support outside Eritrea and for those it was unthinkable to return home. Relating to the second phase of the Eritrean nationals' escape from their country of origin, Conrad (2006:252) explores the change in the status of Ethiopian citizens in the pre-independence period and Eritrean citizen in the post-independence from economic migrants to refugees. With new refugees arriving, the number of Eritreans in Germany and elsewhere has been climbing rapidly since the end of the war in 2000.

The political activism of the transnational community in Germany was closely linked to other communities in Europe and the Middle East. To contextualize the associations between the community in Germany and those of other European countries, Tesfamichel

⁴¹ The Volker Matthies writes generally about Ethiopians, Eritreans and Somalis in general

(2010:31) highlights the first Bologna Congress in 1974, where diaspora-dwelling Eritreans participated in order to discuss the political situation in Eritrea.

Likewise, Eritreans in the Diaspora began the movement for Eritrean Independence in 1975 in Germany. Transnational networks among Eritreans were growing and increasingly influencing the homeland through congresses conducted eleven a year in Bologna - Italy with Eritreans from the diaspora debating the situation in the homeland through seminars and cultural events. Therefore, the Eritrean diaspora was already active before the current phase of globalization.

Faist (2010:155) argues for the use of the universal belief of liberalism for particular purposes by the diasporas. They are not simply nationalists or simply promoters of democracy, but adopt a democratic discourse and use these processes to bring global existence the opportunity to highlight the ideas of liberalism to their countries of origin. This fact is perfectly in line with the objectives of the Eritrean community in Germany. In German territory, the Eritrean refugees have undertaken to hold some public demonstrations and evidence of their presence in the country. According to Plaut (2016:174), those demonstrations were most evident in *Frankfurt* and *Nuremberg*.

In Germany, there were similar commemorations. Marty's Day, on 20 June, was a particular moment for the community to gather in public. In Frankfurt, for example, trees were planted and candles lit to commemorate the dead. Gatherings were held in virtually every German town with an Eritrean community. In a park in Nuremberg. There is even a memorial dedicated to the martyrs of the Eritrean revolution (...) with an inscription in German and Tigrinya reads: 'This tree was planted in memory of the people who gave their lives for Eritrea's Independence.

The state of Hessen appears as the main place of residence for Eritrean refugees. Baden-Württemberg remains second, but in the 2000's there has been an increase in the number of Eritrean nationals in Bavaria (Schörder 2004:5).

In 2015, in the town of *Wetzlar*, there was a public demonstration in which about 50 Eritrean refugees (who arrived in Germany in the fourth phase) went to the streets to protest against the dictatorship and for freedom in Eritrea, and in Germany against discrimination and racism. This manifestation reinforces the concept of transnationalism by Barsch et. al (1994), where the social exclusion of these Eritrean refugees forced them to use public space as a form of protest regarding integration issues in the host country, but also in relation to the political situation in their country of origin.

The street parade is also an expression of the process of placemaking. For Cara Courage (2017) placemaking is a set of tools, an approach to put a community right at the front and center of changes where they live. The central question of the placemaking process in the case of the Eritrean refugees in *Wetzlar* is the use of the voice, which is the primary tool of the placemaking process.

Another relevant point about the transnationalism and the Eritrean community in Germany is the remittances. According to Plaut (2016:175), the 2 percent tax was officially known as "rehabilitation tax" and was imposed through proclamation 17 of 1991 and proclamation 1 of 1995. Those both proclamations were stipulated that all individuals residing in Eritrea or outside Eritrean territory should contribute 2 percent of their earnings to the state's rehabilitation regardless of their nationality. Indeed, the state recognized dual nationality.

The Eritrean State used the idea of "integrating" the diaspora into the state only as a fictitious strategy, seeking to cover up the real motivations of the state with the implementation of the rate. The aim was to increase the state's income through these payments and to maintain active revenues, but the image of the rate of patriotism of the Eritreans in the diaspora was propagated through the rate. It was intended to manifest in the Eritreans of transnational communities the sense of belonging and affirmation of nationalism in the "long distance". This categorization of long-distance nationalism, clarified by Rogers Brubaker (2006:2) for emigrant communities can represent the Eritrean diaspora in Germany since it refers to the idea of the involvement of this community with the homeland politics, evidenced in the case of Diaspora Tax.

The two percent of their annual earnings should be passed directly to the consulates and Eritrean embassies where they lived, regardless of whether those earnings were derived from work or social benefits. All transnational Eritrean structures outside the national territory, such as embassies and consulates, were mobilized for fundraising purposes (Hirt apud Hepner 2008:486). The state-issued bonds to be acquired by the Diaspora, with which it was able to raise about 70 million dollars for the public coffers. By investing heavily in the diaspora the Eritrean government made numerous demands for contributions, including the "one pound per day keeps weyane⁴² away" campaign in the United Kingdom until the public announcement of the values of individual contributions in Germany (Hirt, 2013 apud Tecele, 2012). At the same time, embassies were increasingly

⁴² Weyane (uprising) is the term commonly used for the TPLF government in Eritrea and Ethiopia and refers to the TPLF's resistance against the Dergue regime (Hirt 2013:13, Footnote 8)

being used as "janitors" and responsible for monitoring compliance with the diaspora rate. The workers of these institutions were required to document all forms of dissent in payments in order to punish non-compliance with the rules. According to Plaut (2016:175), the penalties for non-payment are still severe today: denial of assistance services from the Eritrean government, including non-support of consulates and embassies to the citizens of the diaspora. In addition, access to the administrative services of these transnational institutions, such as the renewal of a passport, obtaining an identity card or marriage, death and birth certificates, was suspended.

In the case of Germany, according to Hirt (2013:22), the government requested the Eritrean embassy to stop collecting the fee in July 2011, but until June 2012 the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* newspaper reported that the Eritrean government continued to receive the fee via informal channels.

According to Plaut (2016), The Machiavellian idea transvestite the chauvinist of the Eritrean government in relation to the diaspora rate only reaffirmed the centralized power in Asmara and maintained the authoritarianism of the president, since citizens knew that failure to comply with this requirement could bring problems for themselves, living outside Eritrea and also for the family that had stayed in the country.

In interviewee group of this research, just two of the refugees that I call as part of the Generation Asylum pronounced that they pay the Diaspora Tax to one Consulate in Germany⁴³. Those two are living together as partners and even persecuted by the Eritrean government⁴⁴, they said that the payment is illegal but necessary to live with freedom in Germany.

In 2015, According to the UNHCR, Germany was the largest recipient of new asylum applications, with 441.900 registered by the government. This number is more than twice the number registered in the previous year (173.100) and the eighth consecutive increase in the country. Of these 441.900, 10.900 were Eritrean citizens. In 2016, this number increased to 722.400 and made Germany the country with the largest number of new asylum applications in the world for the second consecutive year. At the end of the same year, the population of refugees and asylum seekers was 1.3 million – 669.500 refugees, of whom 30.000 were Eritrean refugees.

⁴³ They did not said for each Consulate in Germany.

⁴⁴ Both as most of my interviewee group were soldiers and fled because of the national service. For this reason, they can not go back easily to Eritrea, otherwise they will be killed, as they are draft-droppers.

Considering this scenario, where since 2015 in Germany the refugees and asylum seekers was more than 1 million people, is Germany and the german society prepared to be the host of this substantial number of people?

CHAPTER 4

GERMANY AS A HOST COUNTRY

“Deutschland ist ein starkes Land, Deutschlands ist ein tolles Land, Ich mag mein Land, aber nicht nur ich, sondern Millionen von anderem mögen dieses Land.”
Angela Merkel.⁴⁵

The present chapter is committed to explore Germany as a host country and particularly the Baden-Württemberg as a host state. The bureaucratic aspects involved in the asylum application, the integration politics and the sociological facets as solidarity between the welcome society and the refugees/asylum seekers will be shortly presented in the next sections.

4. 1. The Asylum System in Germany

The process of the asylum application in Germany as a member state of the European Union is regulated through the Dublin procedure. In German territory, the authority responsible for the asylum process is the BAMF – *Bundesamt für Migration and Flüchtlinge*, which clarifies the importance of the Dublin procedure below.

The Dublin procedure is used to determine the responsibility for carrying out the asylum procedure in a Member State. The Dublin III Regulation lays down criteria and procedures to be applied when determining the Member State responsible for examining an application for international protection. (...) The purpose of the Dublin procedure is for each asylum application which is lodged in the territory of the Member States to be examined under the substantive law of one state only. This is intended to manage or limit secondary migration within Europe. (BAMF, 2018).

Even the Dublin – III – System is the official system used in Germany to the treatment of asylum application, the German Government has in the constitution the so-called *Asylrecht* or Asylum rights which are in the Article 16A of the general constitution⁴⁶. The

⁴⁵ Citation of Angela Merkel being interviewed from Anne Will, on October 2018, 7th in *ARD Deutschland* channel.

⁴⁶ *Das Grundgesetz* is the Basic Law, the constitution for the Federal Republic of Germany. It was approved by the Parliamentary Council, on 8 May 1949. It consists of a preamble, the fundamental rights and an organizational part..

Federal Republic of Germany introduced an asylum law in 1953 for the first time regulated asylum procedure. The right to asylum existed in Germany but earlier. The Weimar Republic⁴⁷ knew legal categories for the reception of refugees (Dalberg, p.47)

Politically persecuted persons enjoy asylum rights. Paragraph 1 shall not apply to anyone entering from a Member State of the European Communities or from another third State which ensures the application of the Convention on the Status of Refugees and the Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. (Federal Law, Article 16a, Paragraph 2)⁴⁸

Since the arrival until the recognition of the refugee status, the process of the asylum application is clarified by BAMF. The procedure should be as follow: 1) Registration, 2) Apply Asylum Appointment, 3) EU Verification, 4) The personal interview, and the last 6) The final decision.



Figure 10: Asylum Process in Germany [Beatris Santos, 2019]

REGISTRATION

The first step to applying for asylum in Germany is being registered by a staff employee of the BAMF in the branch offices and arrival centers or by the staff of the *Länder* at reception facilities, immigration authorities and arrival centers. The personal data as name, country of origin, date of birth, religion, language, and ethnicity will be collected with a photo and the fingerprints of the asylum seeker. Once registered, the person will receive one proof of arrival and the process and be continued directly in the arrival/reception center.

APPLYING ASYLUM APPOINTMENT

The second step is to get na offical appointment at the arrival center. On this day, the asylum seeker needs to bring this proof of arrival and all the documents that validate the reasons that made the person fled. Some questions as a place of residence, language skills,

⁴⁷ The Weimar Republic is an unofficial historical designation for the German state from 1918 to 1933. The name derives from the city of Weimar, where its constitutional assembly first took place.

⁴⁸ Original Text: *Politisch Verfolgte geniessen Asylrecht. Auf Absatz 1 kann sich nicht berufen, wer aus einem Mitgliedstaat der Europäischen Gemeinschaften oder aus einem anderen Drittstaat einreist, in dem die Anwendung des Abkommens über die Rechtsstellung der Flüchtlinge und der Konvention der Schutze der Menschenrechte und die Grundfreiheiten sichergestellt ist.*

or the way that the asylum seekers came to Germany will be established in addition to the information if the person has relatives in another state of the country.

Upon this first contact with the arrival center, the asylum seeker will receive a residence permit which is temporary and works as an identification document when the person does not have any passport valid.

EU VERIFICATION (Dublin Check)

Before the process continues, the German decision-makers need to verify if the German State is responsible for the application, or if the asylum seeker already applied for the asylum in another EU member-state.

THE PERSONAL INTERVIEW

If Germany is responsible for the application, the person will get another appointment to be heard. In this day, the decision-maker which hears the asylum seeker and the reasons of the fled will be asked.

THE FINAL DECISION

The last phase of the asylum process in Germany is the final decision. If the application is rejected, the person can try again or, if the second time has the same decision, the person needs to leave the country. Since the application has a positive decision, the asylum seeker will receive a resident permit with validating dependent of the refugee status and the situation of his/her homeland.

Since 2017, the German ministry for migration and refugees rethought the integration policies executed for the authorities in the country. According to BAMF, the new system is based on arrival/reception center where all the steps for the asylum application should be made in just one place.

To address and manage these challenges, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees has meanwhile implemented an integrated system for refugee management. The heart of this system is the arrival centers. At the arrival center, many previously separate steps in the asylum procedure are now bundled into one integrated process. Whenever possible, the entire asylum procedure takes place „under one roof“ in the arrival center. As a result, the arrival centers are now

the doorway to the asylum procedure in Germany – and to all relevant social services.

4. 2. Integration Management

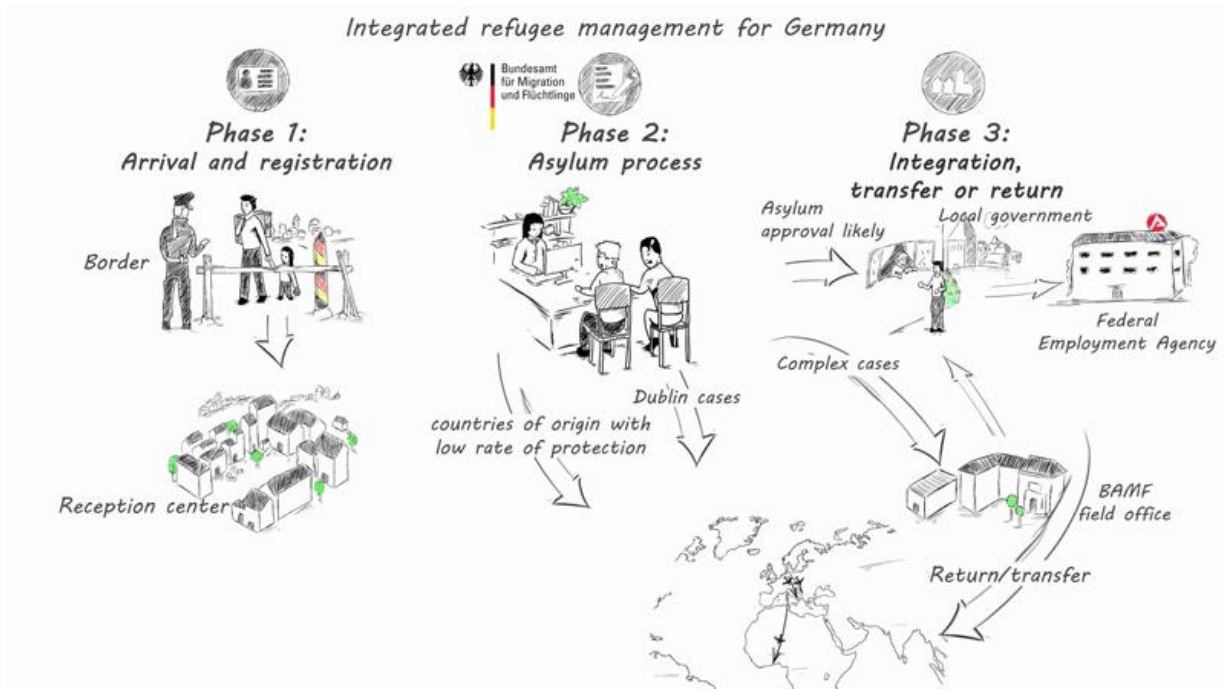


Figure 11: Integrated refugee management of Germany [BAMF, 2016]

About the etymology of the term integration, in the social sciences, there are a variety of terms that are often used in place of or in contrast to integration. These words are used to present the coexistence between the immigrants and the host society, as absorption (Hertzog, 1998), acculturation (Ng, 1998), assimilation (Nolting, 2001), inclusion (Stichweh, 2016) or also the antonyms as exclusion (Alba, 2005) and segregation (Sendker, 1990).

After the final decision about the asylum application, in the third phase demonstrated in Figure 6, is the integration, transfer or return. For all refugees who obtained the positive decision of the BAMF, the last step is the integration, term frequently noticed in media vehicles in Germany since 2015.

Since 2015, the focus in the german political agenda has been the doubtful efficiency of the new integration management. The solicitude of the urgent administration of the high level of immigration in a small period time, involving an also high level of service since

the registration, placement and finally the care and integration of refugees⁴⁹ demonstrated the unprepared previously system.

In addition to the Federal political integration measures, the integration policies are taking place in a multilevel system both in the communal sphere or local levels. All federal states have developed integration concepts and corresponding guidelines related to this issue. In three federal states, *Berlin* (2010), *Nordrhein-Westphalia* (2012) and *Baden-Wuerttemberg* (2015)⁵⁰, integration laws are being adapted to the new phenomena. These changes are experiencing new methods to be adequate to the nature of migration policy efforts. Many municipalities now have their own integration concepts.

According to BAMF, there are some initiatives that aim the better integration of the refugee, as integration course, job center interviews, the app *ankommen*, the system of local guides and the organizations, clubs and civil society actions. This last will be explored in the last section of chapter 6 using the example of the voluntary group *Verein Grundschule Adi Belsey e.V* in Heilbronn.

4.3. Willkommenskultur?

According to the UNHCR, in 2016, Germany was the largest recipient of new asylum applications. At the end of the same year, the population of refugees and asylum seekers was 1.3 million people. In this scenario, the refugee crisis is a relevant and present issue both in the German political agenda and the civil society, often designated as “*willkommenskultur*” (welcome society).

The terms *willkommenskultur* or a *multi-kulti*⁵¹ society are used to explore the idea of a welcome culture that not more than a political project that encourages German society to be more open and accept diversity to move after decades of propaganda that Germany is not an immigration country, but a country of multiculturalism (Kösemen, 2017).

In all her public appearances or in sittings either in the *Bundestag*, in the European Parliament, or in interviews with the media, Angela Merkel normally uses the phrase “*Wir schaffen das!*”, which in German means the same as “We can do it”. This cosmopolitanism affirmation just raises not just shook the media and the political scenario

⁴⁹ Assuming the terminology of refugees (as inspected on chapter 1) to the people who already become those status after the resolution of the asylum process.

⁵⁰ Source: *Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung*

⁵¹ The idea of *multi-kulti* or multiculturalism is also explore by Ramm (2011); Daphi (2016); Fleischmann (2015); Hamann & Karakayali (2016) and Hill (2013).

in the EU, but also within the civil society. It was a way to develop civil society and the new volunteers, using that famous quote as a mantra (Mushaben, 2017).

Angela Merkel's position on refugees is highly contested by the German political community. The speech of the German chancellor often emphasizes the pride of having in the current European context, a policy of open borders. The emblematic case of refugees who forced them to leave Hungary in mass travel to Munich in 2015, reveals two extremely different positions on the refugee crisis in Europe: the "open arms" policy of Angela Merkel and against the "Muslim invaders" of the First Minister Viktor Órban. Merkel's position is distinct from the overwhelming majority of EU member-State leaders, differing not only from Órban, but also from the Polish leader Andrezj Duda, from the Italian Sergio Matarella, or Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte.

In addition to the issue of borders, Merkel emphasizes the importance of containing the problems that have caused recent migratory flows and the joint work of the EU Member States.

Not unlike other European leaders, Merkel's position on refugees is disputed by the population and also by the ministers of her government (often her party colleagues). In 2015, at the height of the so-called "crisis" *Frau* Merkel received an official open letter from CDU / CSU ministers disapproving of her immigration policy. The allegations by the ministers of the German federal states only reinforce the idea of differentiating the assessment of the German chancellor and other political leaders, both at EU level and at the federal level.

The willingness to welcome refugees expressed by the Chancellor Angela Merkel would allow the far-right *AfD* party to sharpen the protest campaign, moving from classic Europeanism to the national emergency represented by the imminent massive arrival of non-EU immigrants potentially dangerous to German society. (Bruno and Marchi, 2016). The securitization of migratory flows has leveraged the development of *AfD* in Germany, wherefrom the discursive acts of *AfD* leaders where anti-immigration rhetoric is based. These discourses call into question the negative aspects that migrations bring to German society and with it, the threat to national identity increased crime, terrorism, and impacts on the local economy. In fact, these factors are relevant to the population and are on the agenda of the far right of Germany. The sweep of "welcome culture" will inevitably be a wave of returns to free up absorption capacity for the displaced refugees.

About the welcoming of the German society is or not a welcome society, Faus and Storks (2019:14) leader a research about the acceptance of refugees in Germany. The results are showing a positive review:

The view of refugees is far from negative, as is often assumed: a clear majority of sixty-two percent of citizens say they have no problem finding shelter in their neighborhood, signaling general openness, similar to immigration in general. Between different age groups and sex are no clear differences at this point. In the Eye drops that acceptance among citizens with higher education is above average - 72 percent of them say nothing against refugees in the to have them in the neighborhood. Noteworthy is as well clearly the West-East difference in this question turns out: with 65 percent, the approval in West Germany is 15 percentage points higher than in East Germany with 50 percent.⁵²

When the focus is on the solidarity between civil society and the refugees/asylum seekers, some non-profit organization are growing and becoming protagonists in the German scenario. In many cases, the non-governmental actors are going deeper and having success to provide food, clothes, accommodation and another basic need which the authorities are failing to help out. (Becker and Speth, 2016).

To explain this solidarity, in this investigation, it is used the Durkheimian approach. The mechanical solidarity⁵³ explained from Durkheim can explicate the collective conscience from the society in Germany, causing a social integration from who believe in the voluntary work to cooperate to the refugees./asylum seekers. The same concept can elucidate the relationship between the social fact of the mobility from refugees to a social effect that is the solidarity from the German civil society. He argues that one social effect as solidarity arises out of another social fact (Durkheim, 1960:67).

In their research about the solidarity volunteering in Germany, Larissa Fleischmann and Elias Steinhilper (2017)⁵⁴ argue that their interlocutors termed what they were acting in a “sign of humanity”. The concept of humanity can be understood in volunteering as an

⁵² Author's own translation.

⁵³ Emile Durkheim in *Division of Labor Society* (1960) argues about two types of Solidarity. One is the mechanical solidarity and the second is the organic solidarity.

⁵⁴ In “The Myth of Apolitical Volunteering for Refugees: German Welcome Culture and a New Dispositif of Helping”, 2016.

example of its values. Volunteering is about doing for others, for the community, for the nation or for the environment (Akingbola, 2015).

The expression “refugees welcome” became a mantra in Germany since the summer of 2015. Those words also give a name to an international movement which started in Germany at the end of 2014. According to their definition of their mission, the NGO writes:

Flüchtlinge Willkommen (Refugees Welcome) is a digital platform that brings flatshares and refugees together. We provide assistance on questions of cohabitation and financial solutions for private rooms for refugees. *Flüchtlinge Willkommen* criticizes state-driven housing policies that force refugees into camps where they are subject to marginalization and invisibilisation. *Flüchtlinge Willkommen* supports decentralized housing solutions for refugees. Through our work, we aspire to contribute to nurturing an open society based on principles of solidarity and equality of all.⁵⁵

The integration of those refugees is not easy and a two-way street. In relation to the upsurge of some populist movement are gauged by Daphi (2016):

(...) In some cities and towns where shelter for refugees is available or planned, there is a protest. The reasons range from xenophobic rejection to the feeling of being forgotten by politics. These protests increasingly reveal prejudices, aggression, and violence that are often fueled by far-right and racist groups.

Fruit of an ideological antagonism, there is influenced group called *Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes* (PEGIDA) or Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident, in English. The movement founded by Lutz Bachmann in Dresden in 2014, is an organization that opposes immigration and Islam in Germany, based in the Saxon capital. Since October 20, 2014, PEGIDA organizes public demonstrations against Merkel's government, the immigration law in Germany and the refugee welcome movements.

Consistently, there are smaller groups of people attending these PEGIDA's demonstrations in order to protest against the group. The public space is used by those activists', again to try to act opposite the demonstration of the PEGIDA's members. They

⁵⁵ Author's own translation of <https://www.fluechtlinge-willkommen.de/>

are also part of a movement that opposes PEGIDA and is called NoPegida. The protests have been organized in many places in response to the PEGIDA's exhibitions and the slogans are exactly the same of the refugee's welcome movement: they represent cosmopolitanism, liberty, equality, and tolerance by promoting the freedom of expression of an open and hopeful civil society to live in a *Willikomenskultur*.

Being part of this welcome society, not only the “refugees welcome” is present in Germany, there are many civil initiatives committed to helping the refugees and asylum seekers all over the country. Such as *Pro Asyl*, *Flüchtling-Rat* in every state and the *Freundkreis Asyl* in various cities in the German territory and other refugees organizations.

4.4. Baden-Württemberg: state of diversity?



Figure 12: Map of Baden-Württemberg in Germany [IDS, 2006]

The Baden-Württemberg is known as a *Vielfätiges Land*, state of diversity. About 12 percent of the population does not come from Germany⁵⁶, more precisely 1.713.827⁵⁷ people from diverse countries. A big part of the foreign population comes from EU-members or Turkey. It is about people who search for a better life, job opportunities, studies

⁵⁶ Source: <https://www.baden-wuerttemberg.de/de/unser-land/land-und-leute/bevoelkerung/>

⁵⁷ Source: *Baden-Württemberg Statisches Landesamt, Bevölkerung nach Nationalität*

or also that leave their home seeking escape and coincidentally or not intends to live in the diverse cities of Baden-Württemberg.

In 2015, Baden-Württemberg had 185.000, that about 98.000 applied for asylum (the others have been redistributed to other federal states, traveled on or could later apply for asylum). In 2016, the number of refugees was 56.000 which 33.000 sought for asylum. According to the Interior Ministry, about 16.000 refugees arrived in Baden-Württemberg in 2017. On average, around 44 people arrived each day.⁵⁸ Finally, in 2018 the number of asylum applications was 10.126.⁵⁹

As already mentioned in the last section, part of the new integration management is the reception centers. In Baden-Württemberg, there are 2 main of those centers: In *Heidelberg*, called as *Heidelbergs Drehkreuz* and in *Karlsruhe*.⁶⁰

According to the *Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg* (LPB) or State Center for Political Education, the *Heidelberg Drehkreuz* was a US barracks "Patrick Henry Village" and rebuilt to be a space of registration, medical examination, and asylum application (2016). This arrival center was remodeled to meet the sudden increase in demand for refugees since 2015.

The *Heidelberg* Turnstile is one of the country's first reception centers in Baden-Württemberg. People who have a good chance of being granted their asylum application will be distributed from here to other provincial reception centers or as part of so-called connecting accommodation to municipalities and districts. People from a safe country of origin who have no chance of getting their asylum application will be deported from here. (*Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg*, 2016).

The oldest reception center is located in *Karlsruhe*, just used until and only in 2015.

From the initial reception centers, the refugees are redistributed to the rural and urban districts after about six weeks. They stay there until their asylum procedure is completed, but at the latest for two years. Thereafter, they are distributed to the communities responsible for their housing. The refugees can also look for private accommodation. Circles

⁵⁸ Source: *Landeszentrale für für Politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg*

⁵⁹ Source: *Ministry of the Interior, Digitization and Migration*

⁶⁰ A map is available in Appendix F

and municipalities often try to rent vacant houses or hotels for housing.

(*Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg*, 2016).

In some cities in Baden-Württemberg since the “summer of migration” many “refugee hubs” were open. Just in 2015, diverse new hubs for refugees and asylum seekers were inaugurated in the state. They are in *Schwäbisch Gmünd, Remseck am Neckar, Oberteuringen, Weitheim, Rottenburg am Neckar, Weissach am Tal and Remchingen*. In 2016, the last one was open in *Unterensingen, Messstetten*⁶¹, *Ellwangen* and in the capital of the state.⁶²

With interesting to support refugees and asylum seekers especially in Baden-Württemberg, in a state-owned zone, there are many initiatives both from the civil society and third sector associations. I would like to give a focus to the work of the *Christliches Jugenddorfwerk Deutschlands*, or Christian Youth Village Germany, in special its filial in *Friedrichshafen*. The association counts with three main initiatives focused (in)directly to refugees and asylum seekers: The *Jugendmigrationsdienst* (Youth Migration Service), *Samo.fa - Stärkung der Aktiven aus Migrantenorganisationen in der Flüchtlingsarbeit* (Strengthening the activities of migrant organizations in refugees work) and the *Integrationkursen* (Integration Courses).

In the number of asylum seekers and refugees in 2018, about 328 were Eritreans⁶³. As already mentioned, they fled from with many motivations. Those motives are not only linked to the indefinite army service, but also to the lack of democracy and human rights in Eritrea.

Eritrea is a relatively small country in the Horn of Africa, an independent nation but the problems continue. The economic conflict with the powerful neighbor Ethiopia prevents Eritrean refugees from returning to their homeland. (Nolting, 2000:3)⁶⁴. After the peace agreement signed for both countries and the borders opening in September 2018 made the way back home for the Eritrean refugees who lived in the Ethiopian territory easier than in the middle of 2000 when Nolting researched for her dissertation.

Even since the appeasement between Eritrea and Ethiopia, much of the Eritrean refugees chose to try a better life in Europe or Germany, and in this last the state of Baden-

⁶¹ In *Messstetten*, the refugee hub took place in an old barrack from the German Army. However, one year after the opening, the last residents moved out. I was personally there in December, 2016 participating in a “action day” in order to stimulate empathy and motivate engagement with refugees in a seminar of political education of the Federal Ministry for Family and Civil Society Tasks (*Bundesamt für Familie und Zivilgesellschaftliche Ausgaben*)

⁶² Source: *Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg*

⁶³ According to Schörder (2004), in 2002 the number of the Eritreans in BW was about just 865 people.

⁶⁴ Author's own translation.

Württemberg. Those interviewed in the context of the present study had spent some months in Ethiopia or had been born in Eritrea and then moved to Ethiopia. The remote Germany was more attractive, indeed the arduous route to reach the country. All of the interviewees are living in two different cities of Baden-Württemberg: *Friedrichshafen* and *Heilbronn*⁶⁵.

(...) On the way to seek freedom, most of the refugees normally stay some time in different countries and cities... one month here, three months there and sometime you will find a safe place... or your own aim place. I lived in Ethiopia and Sudan for a couple of months but I was seeking for freedom and I just could find it outside. I continued my way to Europe and Germany. Here I knew much Eritreans when I arrived (Madidah, III).

Nolting (2001:28) one of her interviewee also spoke about this mobility in the escape journey. The same phenomenon that Madidah (III) discussed about, can be found in the Jonas life history:

Jonas, a 47-year-old engineer who has been living in Frankfurt since 1983, also stayed for a while in Sudan. He learned from a friend that there was the possibility to go to Germany. You know, in Sudan this information also ran and it said: In Germany, there are many Eritreans. That was the main reason for me. But I would also have gone to Canada or USA. Actually, better, but then it was just Germany.⁶⁶

This chapter was dedicated to explore the host country where, in this dissertation, the Eritrean community is organized. The last 2 chapters are dedicated to exploring the Eritrean community in Baden-Württemberg.

⁶⁵ The location of the cities is possible to find in the Figure 12.

⁶⁶ Author's own translation.

CHAPTER 5

ERITREAN DIASPORA IN BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG: A TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNITY

“Ich habe meinem Heimatland ganz Lieb und werde für immer lieben. Mein Herz ist da, aber das Leben ist jetzt hier.”⁶⁷

Helen, VIII

The last chapters are committed to expose the scenario which this research is situated. The fifth chapter aims to bring, as a result of my empirical research, a better understanding about the Eritrean community in Baden-Württemberg related to transnational issues, as the engagement in homeland, link to the relatives and friends in Eritrea, collective identity in the German diaspora, and to ends the long-distance nationalism according to Benedict Anderson (1992).

5.1. Engagement and link to *Heimat*

To present the Eritrean diaspora in Baden-Württemberg as a transnational community is appropriated to do an intersection with the existing theory about transnational links with the homeland and an empirical knowledge through the fieldwork led in Baden-Württemberg and in the capital of Eritrea. As already mentioned in chapter 3, I assume in this investigation that the Eritrean community in Germany when considered as a whole country, can be considered, following the Faist (2010)⁶⁸ concepts, a transnational community.

In this sense, the most important characteristic of a transnational community is the fact that the people who are a member of the group maintain connections with the homeland. In the case of the Eritrean community, in general, has a transnational orientation of Eritrean society characterized in close economic, political and symbolic ties between those outside the country and place of origin (Hirt 2013:11).

The points to be explored in the next paragraphs are the engagement of the Eritrean refugees in Baden-Württemberg in the economic development, homeland politics and with their link to relatives and friends residing in Eritrea. Those aspects are highlighted in this dissertation to better underline the transnational nature of the Eritrean community in Baden-Württemberg.

⁶⁷ Speech from Helen (Fictitious name), one of my interviewed refugees. In English: I love my country and will always love it. My heart is there, but the life is now here.

⁶⁸ In the three facets explored by Faist (2010): Solidarity, Mobilization of collective and Diaspora.

Concerning the first aspect that is economical issues, Cassanelli (2001) discusses the inspiration for an open government in the finances of the homeland from the diaspora members.

(...) A dynamic and open homeland government can encourage members of the diaspora to invest ideas as well as financial means in their country of origin, and makes it easier for them to socialize their children that are mostly born and brought up abroad ... in the same spirit....there is a dialectical relationship between development in diaspora and development at home.

In the case of Eritrea, this theory does not seem to apply entirely. Although the government is not open, the Eritrean diaspora members normally continue to pay the Diaspora Tax (cf. chapter 3) even between the new generation of refugees in Baden-Württemberg. Two of my interlocutors⁶⁹ assumed that they pay every month two percent of their salaries every to one Eritrean Consulate in Germany.

“Interviewer: Do you pay any tax to your home country?”

Yonas: What kind of tax? I and my partner normally pay two percent of our salaries to the Consulate. It is nor legal and illegal. It is just happening and you need to do it.”

The payment of the Diaspora Tax for this two Eritrean refugees insinuates a “dialectical relationship between development in diaspora and development at home” in the sense that at least for this two the tax is not a translation of emotional ties or voluntary help for the development of Eritrea, but an unrevealed forced task.

The next aspect to be explored is the engagement in homeland politics. This issue is actually connected with economic development. The payment of the Diaspora Tax is directly associated with the political situation of Eritrea and its relationship with the Diaspora.

Hirt (2013:25) argues that the level of the political interest of the diaspora members can reflect on the payment or non payment of the so-called diaspora tax.

The neutral or apolitical members of the diaspora are less willing to pay the two percent tax. Due to the adverse living conditions faced inside Eritrea, they have to continually send more money to support their relatives. Many of them are affected by the ongoing human

⁶⁹ This two belongs to the category “Generation Asylum” (cf. Chapter 3 and the section 5.4)

trafficking operations or fear that family members might be kidnapped and that they will consequently be forced to pay a ransom.

The Eritrean diaspora is acknowledged for being totally engaged in the politics in the previous generations and contributed financially for the liberation of Eritrea. Conrad (2010:56) discuss that the “by the mid-1980s a great majority of Eritrean refugees was organized with the EPLF, making it one of the most efficiently run (trans)national liberation movements worldwide”. This Eritrean network also assisted financially the EPLF who during the 1970s earned an average of until 50 percent of the activist's salaries (Killion 1998:165). Those militants were living in North East, the Middle East and Europe and in total contributed to the EPLF up to U\$50.000.000. Conrad (2010:57) states:

The money (as well as support in kind – e.g. medical equipment) was contributed by exile Eritreans in the form of donations, a “revolutionary tax,” entrance fees to EPLF organized events and membership fees. Additionally, (street) collections were made in the various countries of settlement as part of a general strategy to mobilize support also from non-Eritreans.

Due to my interviews in Baden-Württemberg, 100 percent of the interlocutors said that they feel freer to speak about the politics in Eritrea, outside Eritrea. However, when they say politics, they mean the president Isaias Afwerki. As already mentioned before, just two of them said that they are paying the diaspora tax. They are living about 3 years in Baden-Württemberg and confirming the Hirt's thesis, the interesting of those people in the politics in Eritrea seemed to be more active and more robust in comparison with the other interviewees who do not care about the mentioned tax.

When I spoke about the same issue with my “Generation Nationalism” interlocutors the answer was clear and determined: “Yes, of course”. Those people confessed to being a demonstrator in the protests or the street collections made in Germany or fighter of the Libetration war in Eritrea. In this case, they fled after the war ending suggests not a detachment of the political questions but more solid ties with the homeland politics even nowadays.

The last point to be analyzed is the link of the Eritrean refugees with their relatives and friends in Eritrea. This characteristic is still important and in a certain matter correlated with the other two aspects explored in this section, endorsing the transnational nature of the Eritrean Diaspora.

The relationship with the family and friends of my interlocutors is straight attached with the fled from *Heimat*. The family members and close friends mostly helped them to collect the amount to escape journey. This money is used to pay smugglers and extra costs.

For this reason, in addition to the diaspora tax (paid to the government) they normally continue to send money to their family in Eritrea, typically to pay back the amount received to flee.

However, the link with the family is not strictly financial. The contact with the relatives is for the Eritrean refugees a way to stay informed about the politics, the events in the family, neighborhood or circle of friends.

Within the circle of interlocutors that I interviewed, the internet is not playing a crucial role in continuing contact with people in Eritrea. While it disagrees with Conrad's (2010:234) theory about the using of the internet in the strengthening of the link with the *Heimat*, on the other hand agrees in the sense that it facilitates the contact between them in the Diaspora "Like travel, the availability of Internet media and other up-to-date communication technology, has clearly facilitated contacts between the diaspora and home, and also between people and groups within the scattered diaspora itself."

For Tesfay (VI) exist one way to speak with his family is through cellphone directly calls. He said that he needs to pay a prepaid sim card for ten Euros and that is the reason that he just calls the family one time per month (sometimes even for a longer period without any call). I asked him about the internet connection because it was the biggest problem that I had in my time in Asmara⁷⁰.

For Madidah (III), the internet is just a detail to stay connected with friends who already live in Germany or even in Europe. Her friends in Eritrea are rarely online and the social networks are not often updated.

In the special case of the interviews for this dissertation, the internet was not used to connect themselves with Eritrea but continued to be upgraded in the diaspora news. The date of the next mass in the Orthodox Church in *Stuttgart* and visit the church in *Ravensburg* to celebrate the mass, getting help in the appointments of the *Ausländerbehörde* or to understand the letters and papers received, were arranged through online social networks.

⁷⁰ To get a internet connection in Eritrea, the locals and also the tourists need to go the so-called "Internet Cafe" where normally the price for one hour poor internet connection is 20 Nakfas = 1,20 Euro.

For my surprise, the internet is not as often used for the transnational contact with friends and family in Eritrea as I supposed before. I assumed this hypothesis based in the Bernal's (2006) researches about the "Eritrean Diaspora Online", where she assumes that the "Eritreans abroad use the Internet as a transnational public sphere where they produce and debate narratives of history, culture, democracy and identity". However, for the interviewees of this present research, the usual way to stay in touch with family, get information about the country's politics or social events is not collected through Internet.

5.2. "Eritrean-ness": Collective identity in Diaspora

In addition to the transnational essence of the Eritrean community in Baden-Württemberg in sense of the relationship with the relatives in Eritrea, the collective identity in the Diaspora is the next relevant facet of those community to be highlighted. This point was the most widely spoken in the interviews phase of this dissertation and for all of my interlocutors.

The definition of collective identity that best fills the case under study is from Eder (2009: 431):

Collective identities are social constructions which use psychological needs and motives to provide an answer to the questions 'who do I belong to?' or 'who do we belong to?' Collective identities make use of such psychic references in specific social constellations. This happens regularly in social relations bound to concrete social interaction. It also happens in social relations that transgress the realm of social interaction such as constructions of national identity and produce situations of 'effervescence collective' (...)

Undoubtedly, at least one time in the conversations all of the interlocutors spoke about the collectivity of their community. Even between those who could not know each other before. The ambient where the interviews took place was friendly and quite cozy where I can believe that this kind of expressions could easily come out sincerely. My last five interviews were placed in a German classroom for an integration course. All of the Eritrean refugees were friends and one of them helped me to translate to Tigrynia the questions and answers that the others or myself could not understand.⁷¹

⁷¹ The first interview was made with the two girls (Madidah and Ella) and the next day with Yonas, Tesfay and Isaias, then Helen alone, ending with Petros, Sophia, Senait and Zula in the same day.

Another interesting point is that my interviews were not belonging to the same ethnicity and not speaking the same language. Nolting (2010:76) discusses the composition of the Eritrean population:

Eritrea is a multi-ethnic state whose multiethnic population is composed of a total of nine native and immigrant groups. These are in detail Tigray, Tigre, Bedja, Rashaida, Afar, Saho, Bilen, Kunama and Nara, which differ in language, culture, and way of life.

In the case of the Eritrean community this sense of belonging, Hepner (2009), Abbay (1998), Constantini and Massa (2016) use the term Eritrean-ness to translate that cohesion within the community. This term can be straight connected to the long-distance nationalism⁷² or transnationalism⁷³ once that the collective identity characterizes and nurture the solid ties with the homeland in Diaspora.

However, the Eritrean-ness, collective identity or even national identity can be considered as a social phenomenon when those terms are targeting the Eritrean community. The important element to be examined is the fact that Eritrean is a young country or as a young nation and event this, the sense of having a strong nation-state gives them a powerful passion for their homeland.

The connection with the Eritrean history and the war of independence seems to be more solid to this expressive feeling for Eritrea than the main argument about the fled from their country. Even for Madidah (III), Ella (IV), Yonas (V), Tesfay (VI), Isaias (VII), Helen (VIII), Petros (IX), Sophia (X), Senait (XI) and Zula (XII) who openly said that the reason to leave Eritrea was to seek of freedom, the nationalism and the proud to be Eritrean are recognizable when they spoke about Eritrea.

Even you are far away from there, are you proud to be Eritrean? was one of my questions to all of my interviewee and in one hundred percent of the answers, I heard yes with a smile on the face or the eyes filled with tears. The tears were not coming from a broken heart as a consequence of the military camp experience but from a longing sentiment for the family and culture.

For my vintage interviews, mostly fighters in the most important battle for Eritrea and themselves the past is fresh in memory even today and the distance. Adonay (II) states:

One of my tasks today that we stay together and do not forget our culture. This is the mission of a community, and in an Eritrean

⁷² According Conrad (2010)

⁷³ According to Faist (2010)

community is the same. When a new refugee calls me, I am there to help him.

5.3. Parallel Community?

Being part of the transnational space, another relevant aspect of a transnational community is the engagement with the autochthonous society. When this kind of integration is not as much action as the native society believes to be necessary, terms as a parallel community, parallel society, parallel worlds or ghettos rise in the migration agenda.

In the special case of Germany, according to Caglar (2001:603), the increase of the ghetto idea started in the early 1970s in relation to “spatialize ethnicity and immigrants” and the variations of the terms as *Parallelgesellschaft* rises in the mid-1990-s (Caglar 2001:605). The discussion around the theme started in 1996 with the social scientist Wilhelm Heitmeyer (*Zeit*, 1996).

Consonating Belwe (2006), another important expression must be highlighted when the main issue is the concept of parallel communities:

In the public debate, "parallel societies" connect the idea of ethnically homogeneous population groups that are spatially, socially and culturally isolated from the majority society. The term also implies massive criticism of the way of life of migrants and contains the demand for cultural assimilation. The cause of the voluntary or involuntary withdrawal from the majority society lies, according to the results of migration research, in a poor or failed integration policy.

The notion of a parallel community is straight associated with the concept of *Leitkultur* (leading culture) and the terms multiculturalism or *Multi-Kulti* (cf. Chapter 4). Ramm (2010:187) states the connection between all of the mentioned terminologies and its relevance:

The label *Leitkultur* may have remained controversial, but the underlying concept has embarked on a very successful career. It is an essential part of the notion of ‘parallel societies’ which has become very popular over the last decade, in particular, the threatening scenario of ‘non-integrated’ immigrants retreating to ‘parallel worlds’ and rejecting ‘western values’. This scenario was also highly attractive to former liberals and leftists turned *Multi-Kulti* skeptics and these

proponents of a so-called ‘realistic’ approach towards immigration now made extensive use of it on their mission to enlighten the public about the alleged dangers of multiculturalism.

The three scholars mentioned in this section discussed the relationship between the German Society and culture and the German Turks Community in Berlin and in Germany. The single similarity between my case study and their researches is the host society, once that the supposed parallel community has rugged differences.

It is also well known that in the sociological field is complicated to estimate the reaction of a social network or community in the face of a new comment. For my research, the importance was evaluating the commitment of the Eritrean refugee's diaspora in homeland politics and about the asylum and refugee rights in Germany. Dependent on this level of engagement, the community constituted by the Eritrean refugees in Baden-Württemberg is the level of isolation of those community creating or not a parallel society in Germany.⁷⁴

To elucidate this level of engagement in Germany, I chose to highlight the theme “politics” in my interviews. The main question to the interlocutors of this thesis was: “Are you interested in the Asylum or Refugees politics in Germany?” This was the most difficult question to get some information in all of my interviews with the members of the “Generation Asylum”. Isaias, the oldest interviewee (VIII) just gave answer me through one signal of his body language. He just shakes his shoulders and said *Es ist egal!*, that in German is “It does not matter!” and waited for the next question.

The impressions of the complexity between their relationship with the politics in Baden-Württemberg and in their homeland was not clear to understand. Some of them related the term “politics” with “bureaucracy” and related that they needed to change cities really often as they wished to⁷⁵. The feelings demonstrated in the answers and body language spread outside a mix of disappointment and sadness with the asylum system that they needed to participate and a kind of aspiration in Eritrea’s future.

⁷⁴ The theme “Politics” was chosen to focus my interviews in one issue. The communication was not optimal because of my translator informant could not be present in all meetings. “Developing and implementing integration measures involves a wide variety of policy dimensions: education, labour, welfare, health, housing, urban planning, economic development and so forth. Thus, local authorities must manage complementarities across sectors in order to successfully achieve integration objectives”. OECD (2018, p. 30)

⁷⁵ 90 percent of my interviewees applied the asylum in Baden-Württemberg (Heilbronn). In Appendix F it is possible to find a map with all possible places to apply asylum in Baden-Württemberg.

The hypothesis of this dissertation (cf. Introduction) predicate that the particular case of the Eritrean refugee community does not fit in the definition of a parallel community, based on the Ramm's (2010) concept. The main point of his approach is the 'non-integration' of the immigrants which conforming to the interviews that I made, can fit in the Eritrean community of new comments. Due to the results of the experience⁷⁶ of my interlocutors, below I present a shortlist of arguments that support my own theory that the refugee's community live in a parallel society.

- 1) When I asked about the regularity of the church engagement, all of them answered me that they are members of an Orthodox church in Ravensburg and Stuttgart. All people in the church are from Eritrea;
- 2) In the German course all of my five interlocutors just interact within themselves;
- 3) It is clear that they normally have an Eritrean friends circle in *Bodenseekreis*⁷⁷, Baden-Württemberg, Germany, and Europe;
- 4) They are updated about the Eritrean events in Baden-Württemberg and Germany.

It is important to emphasize that my interlocutors are not averse of German culture or do not try to integrate themselves. On the one hand, they confirm that they are proud to be Eritrean and try to live an "Eritrean life" in Germany, on the other hand, they say about being glad to live in Baden-Württemberg. Most of my interlocutors are living in "refugee homes" together and continuing to speak just Tigrinya, practicing the "Eritrean Coffee Ritual" and normally limiting the contact between themselves. This behavior perfectly matches with the affirmation from José Mapril (2005:870) about the recognition of the migrants: "migration puts people in contact with realities other than those from which they originate and this may redefine how individuals recognize themselves"⁷⁸.

Continuing in this theme, Nolting (2001:47) argues that until her research was concluded, the case of the Eritrean exile in Frankfurt was not analyzed:

(...) The most political science questions are aimed primarily on the structures, strategies, and ideologies of migrant institutions, which are mirror images of those found in the home country political and religious groups. Eritrean exiles have not been treated yet. The fact that they are

⁷⁶ Even my focus was to experience more about the engagement in Baden-Württemberg to measure the integration of the community in the German society, I noticed a kind of detachment of German culture. Either in social issues as friendship circle or religion relationships, the focal points were almost always in what they could connect with Eritrea.

⁷⁷ Region of the Lake Constance

⁷⁸ Author's own translation.

political refugees which are, after all, the presumption of an ideology or political conviction does not seem sufficient.

5.4. Generation Nationalism and Generation Asylum

For this research, my main focus was to study the experience and organization of the refugees who arrived in Baden-Württemberg between 2015 e 2019. However, one of the objectives of this investigation is to understand the relationship between those new refugees and the ones which live in the state since before the independence⁷⁹. This section aims to clarify the fourth secondary question of this dissertation: What is the role of the Eritrean community already formed in Baden-Württemberg for the post-refugees crisis in 2015?

The community already formed mentioned before will be addressed as a Generation Nationalism, applying the concept of Hepner (2009) in *Generation Nationalism and Generation Asylum: Eritrean Migrants, The Global Diaspora, and Transnational Nation-State*. For “Generation Nationalism”, Hepner (2009) assumes:

The Eritrean global diaspora comprises multiple waves of migrants whose identities have been indelibly shaped by the specific political and historical dynamics they experienced in Eritrea. Prior to 1993, the overarching context was that of the armed struggle for Independence against Ethiopia; we could, therefore, describe Eritreans who left prior to independence as “Generation Nationalism,” since regardless of their biological age at migration, their experiences were situated within the revolutionary war for self-determination and statehood (p. 186).

To elucidate the adjective applied to the “vintage” refugees, it is important to conceptualize the terminology of Nation and Nationalism.

About the complex definition of Nation, Elwert (1982:21) explains that “by nations we mean one (loose or firmly established) social organization, which claims the temporal character of the majority of their members are treated as (imagined) community and themselves refers to a common state apparatus”. For Anderson (2006:5), Nation means an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

⁷⁹ Before 1993, these Eritrean refugees were counting to the statistics as Ethiopians because of their citizenship. But culturally and emotionally were feeling Eritreans, many of them even worked as soldier in the war for Independence.

According to Max Weber (1948), the concept of “Nation” has more than one single definition. Moreover, Weber explains how the meaning of “Nation” is ambiguous and under debate. In his essay, he mentions that the concept is formed through politics, culture, power, prestige, language, and race. With its various definitions and ambiguity, the concept of the Nation is therefore subjective.

Proceeding in this issue, Smith (2010) suggests the Nationalism means “An ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity, and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential nation”.

This research is based on the concept that the Eritrean diaspora in Baden-Württemberg is a transnational community. The phenomena of the strong sense of nationalism are one of the highlights of this dissertation, usually, the same focus when the study object is the Eritrean Diaspora worldwide.

The nature of the Eritrean community in Germany according to Conrad (2010) can be defined as long-distance nationalism. Those terms are explained by Nina Glick-Schiller and Fouron (2002) as “resembles conventional localized nationalism as an ideology that links people to the territory”. Conrad (2010) also affirms that the definition of long-distance transnationalism presented from Glick-Schiller and George Fouron (2001) in their book *Haiti and Haitians abroad* can apply in the case of the Eritrean diaspora in Germany⁸⁰. Even that Conrad (2010:19) studied a different phase of the Eritrean Community in Germany in 2010, she addresses five main arguments⁸¹ to the utilization of the long-distance nationalism concept which I counterpart share:

The self-definition of the homeland as a “transnational-state”; The active nature of the migrants validated in vote, demonstration, contribute money, fight, kill and die for their homeland; The subscribe of the existence of a sovereign state from the migrants; The condition in the new land or from the host society which encourages the long-distance nationalism. The identification with a particular existing state or a desire to construct a new state.

For Sobral (2018:50) the differences between this kind of nationalism and the “normal” nationalism are the origin as explained below:

⁸⁰ Bettina Conrad researched until 2010 when the circumstances of the refugees and asylum seekers was diferente than now. In Chapter 3, I explore about the phases of the Eritrean migration to Europe and Germany where it is assumed that the period that Conrad analysed had different characteristics.

The main specific point of differentiation in relation to conventional nationalism is that this type of nationalism is a product of transnationalism, that is, of the keeping of a transnational field of social relations between those who migrated and those who stayed. As two of the more influential scholars in the field have emphasized (...).

For the interviewee of this dissertation, the relationship with the vintage refugees is almost in the totally limited to the religious level. They related me that at the beginning of their life in Baden-Württemberg, the clerical of the Orthodox Church fully supported them whatever they needed. Mostly, the activities that the pastor or the members from the church accompanied them were the appointments by the *Ausländerbehörde*, translated important letters and went to the post offices together.

According to Tesfagiorgis (2011:139), these predominant religions play an important role in thinking, identity and social relations and are interestingly integrated with local cultures and customs.

According to Plaut (2016:175), the transnationalization of religious institutions and the creation of social networks through faith stand out “To counter this Eritreans did what other exiles had done before them: they started restaurants in which they congregated; they established societies, churches and mosques that reflected their faiths and inclinations. In other words, they formed communities.”

Spickard (2005:343) also highlights the role of religion for an Eritrean citizen:

Religious identities predominate over other forms of ethno-racial identifications because religion functions as a socially constructed identity that mediates between kinship based ethno-racial identities and national identity. It is an organizing principle in the context of national identity and the allocation of state resources and power. Religion is an organizing principle that has long history in Eritrea and remains an enduring force. Both the Muslim and Christian segments of society emphasize this religious distinctiveness.

When this religious scenario is transported directly to Germany, according to Nolting (2002:48), there were no problems with religion on the part of the Eritreans, since most of her interlocutors were Christians, the same reality as in this dissertation. Religiosity, as a basis of values, was one of the most importance not only from the Eritreans in her investigation.

CHAPTER 6

THE ERITREAN SPACE IN BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG

“Die mission unserer Community ist dass wir zusammen halten und unsere Kultur in Deutschland nicht vergessen.”⁸²
Adonay, II

The last chapter of this dissertation brings a brief analysis of the Eritrean scene in Baden-Württemberg, exploring the Eritrean groups and associations. A special attention is given to the *Verein Grundschule Adi Belsey e.V.*, situated in Heilbronn, the 7th biggest city in the state.

6.1. Eritrean groups and associations in Baden-Württemberg

According to Conrad (2010: 52-89) in her fieldwork in Germany, she obtained an addresses list from the Eritrean Union of Eritrean Students (NUES), where in 2000 from the 22 contact addresses, 4 of them were situated in Baden-Württemberg. The cities are *Freiburg, Mannheim, Karlsruhe, and Stuttgart*. She adds that those cities “became centers of Eritrean refugee settlement in Germany and gradually Eritrean “refugee communities” developed in this town.”

There is about 19 Eritrean voluntary groups and 5 religion groups in Baden-Württemberg. They have their places mainly in the biggest cities in the state⁸³.

In Stuttgart, the capital of BW, I could find about six groups, which one of them is one Eritrean Catholic group. The other cities are *Plochingen, Waiblingen, Mannheim, Karlsruhe, Ravensburg, Heilbronn, Tübingen, Freiburg, Ulm, Ludwigsburg, Konstanz, Offenburg, Pforzheim, and Lörrach*.

I contacted all of them in the first 3 months of 2019 and I was personally in one of them: The *Verein Grundschule Adi Belsey e.V.* situated in Heilbronn. I considered writing about this association, because of their transnational work connecting Eritrea and the community in Baden-Württemberg and the “vintage” Eritrean refugees to the newcomers. The responsibility for that integration between the generations is from the Eritrean member.

⁸² Speech from Adonay (fictitious name), one of my vintage refugees in BW. In English: The mission of our Community is that we stay together and we do not forget our culture in Germany.

⁸³ In Appendix D there is a list of all Eritrean groups in Baden-Württemberg that I could find in the documental research.

6.2. Verein Grundschule Adi Belsey e.V



Figure 13: Logotype of the *Verein Grundschule Adi Belsey e. V* [Volker Geisler, 2018]

The *Verein Grundschule Adi Belsey e.V* is an association of about 16 members which about five of them are actively working on the in the main causes of the association.

The history of the association started 20 years ago when one of the members knew Adonay⁸⁴, an Eritrean refugee arrived in the 1980s. As he self-declared to the website of the association⁸⁵.

“If I survive in Europe and stay there, I will build a school in my village”

He was the only child of the family to visit the school in the neighboring village eight kilometers away. In total, only ten children from the village (five girls and five boys) were allowed to go to school. He was one of the five boys and is the only student in the village who creates the four primary classes. After that, he was allowed to boarding school in Mendefera and reached the only one school graduation in the 12th grade.

The hardships of the daily walk and the urgent need for education for the children in the villages around *Adi Belsey* were the driving forces behind the promise to his parents.

After years of staying in *Heilbronn*, he told his new friends in the city about his childhood experiences and the promise to his parents. His statements and his request for help building a small school in the village were so convincing that none of the friends wanted to turn down that request.

In the first phase, there was only one classroom and only the assumption of material costs for the room. This was manageable for each of the addressed and also limited in time. What came of it and how the association was continued step by step in its efforts to help people to help themselves, none of the founding members could guess.

⁸⁴ Fictitious Name

⁸⁵ www.ausbildung-eritrea.de

The main reason to grow and run an association was the dream of this Eritrean refugee. In the beginning, the priority was to make possible that the population of *Adi Belsey* a small village one hundred twenty kilometers far from the capital Asmara has the opportunity to study.

The transnational mission of the association also works following the 17 Sustainable Goals from ONU, the global challenges from the United Nations to achieve until 2030. Particularly, conforming with two of them: The number 4 – Quality Education, and number 7 – Affordable and Clean Energy once that in *Adi Belsey*, both the primary school and the teacher's accommodation have solar panels to generate clean energy. The figure 13 brings an overview of all those important goals.



Figure 14: Sustainable Development Goals [UN, 2015]

The association has ten major projects in Eritrea. As already mentioned, the first was the primary school⁸⁶ in *Adi Belsey*, but meanwhile, the association is working in diverse cities in Eritrea. Among them, there is more one school in *Adi Gulti*, a building of a fountain in the province of *Debud* and also a cistern in *Adi Belsey*. Below, I will provide a short description of the most important projects of the association.

1) Primary School and Teacher Accommodation in *Adi Belsey*

In elementary school, up to two hundred fifty children have five lessons from the first to the fourth grade. Even children from seven surrounding villages can now attend a school.

⁸⁶ That is the reason of the name of the association *Grundschule*, which means primary school in german

There are also children from a village whose way to school leads through a deep gorge of a dry riverbed. Without this school in *Adi Belsey*, it would not be possible for her to attend school.

One part of the children have classes in the morning the other part in the afternoon. Nevertheless, not all children of a village have access to the school. Those children learn from their siblings. The school is also a meeting room for the villagers, at night once that there is a single place where the light is brightening at night.

2) Solar Panel on Primary School and Teacher Accommodation in *Adi Belsey*

In 2007, the *Verein Grundschule Adi Belsey* were able to install the necessary solar system on the roof of the school building. This system consists of two solar modules, charge controller, inverter and battery. The solar modules generate electrical energy, which via the charge controller is possible to feed the batteries. 3 years later after the construction of the school solar system, the association was able to realize the same work but on the roof of the teacher's accommodation. This project made possible for the teachers to have electric energy to cook, use computers, cellphone, etc.

3) Cistern in *Adi Belsey*

The annual rainfall in *Adi Belsey* region is between 300-800 ml/m² per year. Every drop that can be collected in the village, and the residents do not need to be fetched from the well or in the aridity up to 30 km away from their home places.

Already during the construction of the primary school, the *Adi Belsey e. V* planned to have considered the construction of a cistern. The rain of 150 sqm roof area is enough to fill the cistern. As a reward, children from the surrounding villages, the population of the village are allowed to fetch water from the cistern. A first relief for the residents.

Even the leading focus of the *Verein Grundschule Adi Belsey e. V* is the work directly in Eritrea, Adonay, the vintage refugee and former soldier member of the group, is actively supporting the newcomers. He is dedicating his time as volunteers to assist the new refugees in *Heilbronn*. His support is based on getting along with those people to apply for asylum, solving problems with the bureaucracy, service as translator if necessary also in case of health issues. He related me that he already supported a pregnancy woman at the hospital of *Heilbronn* in the day of her baby birth.

CONCLUSION

In this last chapter, I will compose brief revisions originated by this dissertation in all previous chapters, address all questions and validate the hypothesis, built and explained in the introductory chapter of this research.

The present study aimed to analyze the organization and perspectives of the Eritrean community in Baden-Württemberg, investing in questions related to the transnationalism, sense of belonging and long-distance nationalism of the refugees arrived between 2015 and 2019.

Hereupon, the central question of this dissertation was:

“As the great majority of new arrivals in Germany since 2015, how do the Eritreans refugees and asylum seekers in Baden-Württemberg live and organize as a diasporic community?”

In the Introductory chapter, I did a literature review on the refugee crisis with a macro focus. The first focus was in a European context, then in the German situation and to closing in my focus field: *Baden-Württemberg*. The study case of the Eritrean Diaspora in this same state was also introduced succinctly. Since the preface section, I determinate the main argumentation to be or not validate in the theoretic framework and the Fieldwork results, building an intersection between the pre-existing literature and the praxis with the informants and interlocutors chosen for this research.

That argumentation was presented in the hypothesis section (p. 10), with the following affirmations:

- 1) *The Eritrean Diaspora formed by refugees and asylum seekers arrived between 2015 and 2019 in Baden-Württemberg is structured in the placemaking process through religious and Eritrean associations in BW;*
- 2) *The Eritrean Diaspora is not actively engaged in the political and social issues, both in Eritrea and in BW;*
- 3) *The Eritrean Diaspora can be defined as a parallel community in face the autochthonous society.*

Likewise, in the introduction section the motivation and the justification of this research, and the methodological approach were presented. The case study method was adopted since it provides an insight into the particular experience of the Eritrean community in Baden-Württemberg, and the transnational studies elected as a highlighted subfield of the

sociological academic work. According to Gerring (2004:342), the case study method can be determinate an intensive study of a unit:

As a substitute for these flawed definitions, I propose to define the case study as an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units. A unit connotes a spatially bounded phenomenon—e.g., a nation-state, revolution, political party, election, or person—observed at a single point in time or over some delimited period of time. (Although the temporal boundaries of a unit are not always explicit, they are at least implicit.).

The first chapter of this dissertation was dedicated to explain the relevant terminological clarifications that guided the understanding of the Eritrean population in Baden-Württemberg. In this sense, the literature was based in important names as Brettel and Glick-Schiller which orientated the explanation of the individual's terms: Migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (p. 12-13), the transnational dynamics conforming Vertovec (p. 16-17) and analysis of collective indications according to Faist (p.18-21). Those descriptions were important to underline existing theories applied to the Eritrean population in Germany: 1) For Bettina Conrad, the Eritreans in Germany in 2010, and the same in 2013 for Hirt could be designated as a Diaspora and for Nolting (2001) as an Exile Community in Frankfurt.

In the next chapter, I rummage Eritrea as a country of origin. The theoretical foundation presents the most important historical, social and economic aspects of Eritrea. The timeline started in 1885 with the Egyptian domination and ends with the current supremacy suffered by the Eritreans still living in their homeland. The objective of this chapter provided a panorama of the situation on-site and connect it with the possible strongest emigration driver presents in the literature: The “never-ending” of the national (or Community) service and the oppressive government, translated in the president Isaias Afwerki. The emigration and its causes are undertaking by the second subsidiary question, where I tried to experience if the emigration drivers and the (long-distance) nationalism communicate between themselves, in the sense that this feeling of “necessary to flee” was disturbing their “passion to be” an Eritrean even in the Diaspora. The question is partly answered in Chapter 2, part in Chapter 5 where I clarify the long-distance nationalism concept and add with the present scenario in Eritrea. The suitability to the Eritrean Diaspora in Baden-Württemberg following the empirical knowledge acquired was also explored, once that was one of my questions in the interviews phase.

My travel to Eritrea had as the main objective to experience the life of a young Eritrean, living in Asmara, even just for a couple of weeks. The domination of the president was my central interest, once I always live in democratic countries. After many informal conversations at streets, visits in entertainment places, it is really complicated to develop a solid opinion about the feeling to live or not in a dictatorship and its relation with the exodus. I could see smiles in most young Eritreans in Asmara, as well as I see in the interlocutors of this research in Baden-Württemberg. However, the decision to flee is individual and every human has the right to move, related in Article 13 of the Human Rights Declaration. The last relevant section of this chapter was dedicated to analyzing the development initiatives of the German government in Eritrea. According to Clemens and Postel (2018), “In response to the recent migrant and refugee crisis, rich countries have redoubled policy efforts to deter future immigration from poor countries by addressing the “root causes” of migration”. In the case of Eritrea, the “root cause of migration”, was the seek of freedom included in the human rights agenda and the isolation of the country face to the globalization, often schedule in the visits of the German Minister Gerd Müller to the Eritrean Statehouse.

Diving into Chapter 3, the theoretical framework delivers an overview of the possible dimension of the Eritrean Global Diaspora (see Hepner 2009). The task to measure the exact number of *Adi Ertra* (Eritreans living abroad) in the world is almost impossible since, before the independence, the Eritreans were classified as Ethiopians. The magnitude of the case study was becoming micro, considering the communities in European and German contexts. Effectively is in the analysis of groundwork, that the Eritrean community could be studied and divided into four phases, each one with its characteristics.

The Eritrean diaspora in Germany had several phases (correlated to the rest of Europe) and in all of them, it participated actively in the political and economic issues of the country, but with many restrictions regarding the results of this activism. This is due to the cessation of democracy in Eritrea, which is a problem experienced by citizens not only in the country of origin but also when the reality is transported to the diaspora, which in the case of this work focused on Baden-Württemberg.

In Hessen, the Eritrean Diaspora has held some of the public demonstrations, however, in Baden-Württemberg, this reality could not be validated. In *Giessen*, those demonstrations had the order to securitize the issues of indefinite military service and forced labor putting them on the political agenda, It could be confirmed that this activism

was successful since this was the theme in a session in the *Bundestag*, but the difficulties to change the root of the problem are greater than the efforts to eliminate it. However, there were no major consequences in Asmara, where the Eritrean state shows the disregard for the community in Germany, making no effort to integrate its diaspora into the German political community.

As an important contribution of this chapter, I can highlight the section (p.59-62) where is explained one of the most addressed transnational aspects of diaspora and its home country: the competences, in the Eritrean case the “Diaspora Tax”. The main concern of the Eritrean State is the payment of the diaspora fee and that this contribution is inspected by the embassies in Germany.

Another important cause for which the Eritrean state supports its inertia in changing military service is its empowering influence on the current political system. The indefinite national service produces steady migratory flows, which the refugees seek to reach Europe and thus send remittances to the family in Eritrea. The young people who undergo this service spend all their time planning to escape, rather than actively participating in the Eritrean political scene and developing a potential opposition movement. Isaias Afwerki relies on these mechanisms where there is a vicious circle of forced labor for the benefit of the dominant elites and another in relation to the mass exodus for the stabilization of the state through remittances and the diaspora tax.

Specifically, in Chapter 4 – Germany as a host country, I investigate all aspects of the German migration politics, integration system and precisely the opening and structure of the state of Baden-Württemberg to the refugees and asylum seekers.

In 2015, the focus of political efforts initially lay in the immediate management of the high level of immigration, also called the “human tsunami”: the registration, placement, and treatment of the refugees. The municipal, state and federal authorities had not been prepared for such a high number of asylum seekers, resulting in partly chaotic conditions. After this situation calmed down somewhat to protection had slowed considerably, mainly as a result of the closure of the borders along the so-called "Balkan route" and the EU-Turkey agreement, in 2016 issues of integration of the refugees remaining in Germany in the long term came up in the foreground of the debates.

In Juli 2016, an integration law was contrary to what its title suggests, it does not provide a framework for comprehensive integration policy, but rather contains technical detailed regulations, which are primarily devoted to the labor market integration of asylum seekers with a good stay-perspective and recognized refugees. It follows the principle of

"promoting and demanding". Asylum seekers can, therefore, be obliged by authorities to language and integration courses. If refugees provide outstanding integration services, for example by demonstrating that they have a particularly good knowledge of the German language, they can - as before - issue a settlement permit after three years. A residence permit restricts the choice of residence of recognized refugees during the first three years of their stay in Germany. Unless they have employment or a place of study subject to social insurance, they are obliged to live in the federal state to which they were assigned. The federal states are responsible for the concrete design of the residence allocation. After all, the integration course offer in Germany is not sufficient. Therefore, one should not punish anyone who does not attend such a course due to the lack of supply. In addition to the federal political integration measures, integration policy takes place in the multilevel system also at the state and local level. All federal states have developed integration concepts and corresponding guidelines. In three federal states, *Berlin* (2010), *Nordrhein-Westfalia* (2012) and *Baden-Württemberg* (2015), integration laws were passed which increase the binding nature of migration policy efforts.

The second-last chapter brings all the highlights for this investigation, intersecting the literature with the results of the interviews led from me. Three of the subsidiary questions could be answered in this section: 1) Is there any connection between religion, rituals, and placemaking in the case of Eritrean refugees in Baden-Württemberg? 2) What is the role of the Eritrean community already formed in Baden-Württemberg for the post-refugees crisis in 2015? And 3) Is the Eritrean Diaspora in Baden-Württemberg active in their homeland politics? And what about the political engagement in Baden-Württemberg?

In the last two chapters, It is possible to verify that not all facts exposed in my hypothesis for this dissertation could not be completely validated, since not all contact points that I speculated before (based on the literature review) are related to the information that my interlocutors provided me. The conclusions are: 1) The Eritrean Community in Baden-Württemberg, formed by the refugees and asylum seekers, members of the so-called "Generation Asylum" or "Fourth Phase" are structured in the placemaking process through religion. All of my interviews know each other in the first place: The Orthodox Church, and from there develop ties from the Church community to outside; 2) Between all the Eritrean culture associations that I had contacted, just the *Verein Grundschule Adi Belsey e.V* was promptly ready to support my project. The members provide me information about their work in the integration of new refugees arrived in *Heilbronn* and

region, carried out by an Eritrean “vintage” refugee; 3) All my young interlocutors were conscripts soldiers in Eritrea (mostly in Sawa Camp) but not actively engaged in political issues in their home country, and this reality was brought together when the question is the engagement in German politics; 4) They are actually living in an Eritrean “ghetto”, not because they do not try to integrate themselves, but because they can get back in touch with their precious culture, but not with their territory country.

Unfortunately, I could not find any Muslim interlocutor who was willing to participate in my research, not enabling the diversity that I planned in the project phase. For this reason, within the interlocutors group interviewed for this research, it is possible to conclude that the Eritrean community in Baden-Württemberg is fitting in the Durkheimian approach of community, in the sense that the development of their community around is signed in interests, and in this case is strictly religious ones. The Orthodox religion is the most important factor for the cohesion of the Eritrean community, also fitting the theory of theoretical classes constructed in social space by Bourdieu: “(...) It brings together agents who are as similar to each other as possible and as different as possible from members of other classes.” In the case of the Eritrean Community in Baden-Württemberg, the agent is the religion.

In this way, It can be said that the Orthodox church in itself is the embodiment of the placemaking process for the Eritrean refugees in Baden-Württemberg. Their circle of friends and way to meet new people are intermediate through the church.

Limitations and perspectives for future research

As explained in the epistemological justification and explored in the literature review, the case of the Eritrean refugees in Baden-Württemberg is deprived of in-depth study. This community needs more voice and self-initiative, from the members of the Diaspora to put out their perspectives for the members in the German state. Living in a context where, even if in large numbers, they form part of a minority portion, the confidence seems not to be enough for this action.

As it is not a heterogeneous collectivity, it concludes that the "profile" of the Eritrean diaspora in Baden-Württemberg (even if all the individuals participating in the same phase) and the migratory flows should be targets of in-depth an attempt, to fill the shortage of up-to-date data and the lack of quantitative and qualitative material related to the escape from the Eritrean refugees and their organization in Baden-Württemberg.

Finally, throughout the course of this dissertation, new interesting doubts emerged. It could be relevant to deeply follow the relationship of the old and new refugees and how the sense of nationalism is passed between generations and sharing emotional moments. Once the current geographic location is not their homeland and the birth family is not living with them, those relationship across vintage refugees and new commers could be interesting as a central question for a future research.

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Appendix A – Short Biographies

Asmara

She was born in 1984 in Asmara. With 2 years old fled with her mother to *Tübingen*, who lived in a refugees camp. Then, she moved to *Friedrichshafen* where she studied and works nowadays as a kindergarten teacher.

Adonay

He was born in 1959 in *Adi Belsey*. He moved to Germany in 1984 as a political persecute. In *Heilbronn*, he completed a professional course as electrician and has been employed there since 1991 at the city management department.

Madidah

She was born in 1996 in *Keren*. She completed the school years and just worked in the Community Service. She lives in Baden-Württemberg since 2016. Nowadays, she lives in the Lake Constance region.

Ella

She was born in 1999 in Eritrea but as a baby moved with her family to Ethiopia. She already lived in Spain for a couple of months but needed to be relocated to Germany. After living in different cities in Baden-Württemberg, Ella is living nowadays in the Lake Constance region.

Yonas

He was born in 1993 in a small village near to Asmara. He is a father from 2 kids and lives almost 3 years in the Lake Constance region with her family.

Tesfay

He was born in 1996 in Debarwa, a city about 25 km away from Asmara. He lives about 1 and a half year in Baden-Württemberg and was relocated from Italy directly to the German State.

Isaias

He was born in 1991 in Asmara where he lived until 2015. He always lived in BW and dreams to have a free life in *Friedrichshafen*.

Helen

She was born in 1992 in Asmara, where she lived with her Family before fled to Europe. She is living for about 18 months in *Friedrichshafen*. Her dream is to speak perfectly german and get a good job as a secretary.

Petros

He was born in 1994 in Asmara. He lives about one and a half year in Germany. He does not have any document anymore, but a dream to get the answer for his asylum soon.

Sophia

She was born in 1999 in Asmara. She does not speak german but said that she studies a lot to get better. She lives in an apartment with more seven Eritrean girls.

Senait

She was born in 1997 in Mendefera. She has a big family living on a farm near to Mendefera. She dreams to end the german course, get a good job in the Lake Constance region and have freedom.

Zula

She was born in 1998 in Asmara. She has three sisters, which two are currently living in Ethiopia. She says that she would like to have an identity again (a passport) and speak perfectly german.

Appendix B – Interviews List

Interview Number	Date	Place	Fictitious Name
Interview I	11.12.2018	Friedrichshafen	Asmara
Interview II	09.02.2019	Heilbronn	Adonay
Interview III	28.05.2019	Friedrichshafen	Madidah
Interview IV	28.05.2019	Friedrichshafen	Ella
Interview V	04.06.2019	Friedrichshafen	Yonas
Interview VI	04.06.2019	Friedrichshafen	Tesfay
Interview VII	04.06.2019	Friedrichshafen	Isaias
Interview VIII	26.06.2019	Friedrichshafen	Helen
Interview IX	05.07.2019	Friedrichshafen	Petros
Interview X	05.07.2019	Friedrichshafen	Sophia
Interview XI	05.07.2019	Friedrichshafen	Senait
Interview XII	05.07.2019	Friedrichshafen	Zula

Appendix C: Common Features Of a Diaspora

1. Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions;
 2. alternatively or additionally, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions;
 3. a collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history, suffering and achievements;
 4. an idealization of the real or imagined ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation;
 5. the frequent development of a return movement to the homeland that gains collective approbation even if many in the group are satisfied with only a vicarious relationship or intermittent visits to the homeland;
 6. a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history, the transmission of a common cultural and religious heritage and the belief in a common fate;
 7. a troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group;
 8. a sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement even where home has become more vestigial; and
 9. the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism.
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Cohen, R. (2008). *Global Diaspora: An Introduction* (2nd Ed.) London and New York. Routledge, p. 17.

Appendix D: Eritrean Groups in Baden-Württemberg

Stuttgart

Eritreische Vereinigung zur Gegenseitigen Unterstützung in Stuttgart e.V.

Address: Staffelfstraße 4 70565 Stuttgart

Eritreischer Kulturverein Stuttgart-Vaihingen e.V.

Address: Kurt-Schumacher-Straße 235C 70565 Stuttgart

Eritreische Gesellschaft Stuttgart e.V.

Address: Daimlerstraße 42 70372 Stuttgart

Eritreische Gemeinde St. Justin de Jacobis

Address: Am Lehenweg 16 70180 Stuttgart

Eritreische Jugend Stuttgart e.V.

Address: Rotenwaldstraße 61 70197 Stuttgart

Vereinigte Eritreische Gesellschaft e.V.

Address: Neckarstr. 226 70190 Stuttgart-Ost

Plochingen

Eritrea Hilfswerk in Deutschland e.V.

Address: Bahnhofstraße 14 73207 Plochingen

Waiblingen

Eritreische Verein Ghebru

Address: Salierstr. 7/3 71334 Waiblingen

Mannheim

Eritreischer Verein in Mannheim und Umgebung

Address: Carl-Benz str. 72 68167 Mannheim

Karlsruhe

Eritreische Gemeinschaft in Karlsruhe und Umgebung e.V.

Address: Sophienstraße 90 76135 Karlsruhe

Ravensburg

Eritreische Vereinigung in Ravensburg und Umgebung e. V.

Address: Ziegelsraße 46 88214 Ravensburg

Heilbronn

Verein Grundschule Adi Belsey in Eritrea e.V

Address: Fichtestr. 13, 74074 Heilbronn

Tübingen

Eritreischer Verein Tübingen/Reutlingen und Umgebung e.V

Address: Europaplatz 25 72072 Tübingen

Ulm

Eritreische Gemeinde Ulm

Address: Ulmer Straße 42 89143 Blaubeuren

Ludwigsburg

Eritreische Gemeinschaft im Kreis Ludwigsburg e.V.

Address: Katharinenstr. 88 71634 Ludwigsburg

Konstanz

Eritreische Gemeinde

Address: Luisenstr. 4 78464 Konstanz

Offenburg

Eritreischer Verein

Address: Hildastr. 21. 77654 Offenburg.

Religious Groups

Pforzheim, *Altstadtgemeinde*, Mass every 3rd Saturday, 3 pm

Lörrach, *Altenheim neben der Stadtmission*, Mass every 1st Monday 10 am

Konstanz, *Petrusgemeinde*, Mass every 2nd und 4th Sunday, 3 pm

Stuttgart, *Stephanuskirche*, Mass every 1st und 3rd Sunday, 10.30 am

Appendix E: Access To Asylum Seekers (For Initial Applications)

Remaining In Baden-Württemberg * In 2019

Zugang an Asylbegehrenden (für Erstanträge) mit Verbleib in Baden-Württemberg* im Jahr 2019

Monat	Zugang davon		Hauptherkunftsländer																											
	BW		Syrien	Gambia	Nigeria	Guinea	Irak	Eritrea	Afghanistan	Türkei	Iran	Somalia	Nordmazedonien	Kamerun	Georgien	Togo	Serbien	Albanien	Russ.Föd.	Pakistan	Ungarn	Ägypten	Bosnien-H.	Indien	Marokko	Sri Lanka	Kosovo	Tunesien	China	Sonstige
Januar	1.328	108	38	324	85	110	22	31	72	60	34	42	48	56	33	36	32	19	1	11	18	14	14	19	6	27	5	29	21	28
Februar	786	50	12	234	51	58	12	19	72	48	12	19	33	16	17	17	14	11	0	10	7	12	9	5	10	1	5	17	15	
März	747	80	11	225	34	56	6	40	57	23	16	2	18	21	25	16	12	17	2	4	16	0	6	8	4	7	11	11	19	
April	821	100	18	178	30	89	6	35	82	45	13	8	17	17	17	9	19	7	1	8	10	3	13	16	6	4	13	32	25	
Mai																														
Juni																														
Juli																														
August																														
September																														
Oktober																														
November																														
Dezember																														
2019	3.682	339	79	961	200	313	46	125	283	176	75	71	116	109	92	77	77	54	4	33	51	29	47	35	47	17	58	81	87	
In Prozent:	100,00	9,21	2,15	26,10	5,43	8,50	1,25	3,39	7,69	4,78	2,04	1,93	3,15	2,96	2,50	2,09	2,09	1,47	0,11	0,90	1,39	0,79	1,28	0,95	1,28	0,46	1,58	2,20	2,36	
2018	10.738	1424	275	1912	600	881	409	359	988	766	247	155	257	432	233	128	159	185	23	140	148	46	134	104	89	75	216	125	217	
In Prozent:	100	13,28	2,56	17,81	5,59	8,20	3,81	3,34	9,29	7,13	2,30	1,44	2,39	4,02	2,17	1,19	1,48	1,72	0,21	1,30	1,39	0,43	1,25	0,97	0,83	0,70	2,01	1,16	2,02	
2017	15.694	2.659	1.267	1.736	401	1.512	872	619	1.055	594	562	359	498	457	318	205	308	208	159	200	258	118	225	197	195	129	149	128	310	
In Prozent:	100,00	16,94	8,07	11,05	2,56	9,63	5,55	3,94	6,72	3,78	3,58	2,29	3,17	2,91	2,03	1,31	1,96	1,33	1,01	1,27	1,64	0,74	1,43	1,26	1,24	0,82	0,82	1,98		
2016	32.947	9.073	3.257	1.868	3	3.977	1.545	3.658	729	860	600	403	570	490	306	545	473	327	787	358	516	346	471	180	144	467	282	368	364	
In Prozent:	100,00	27,54	9,89	5,67	0,01	12,07	4,69	11,10	2,21	2,61	1,82	1,22	1,73	1,49	0,93	1,55	1,44	0,99	2,39	1,09	1,57	1,05	1,43	0,55	0,44	1,42	0,80	1,12	1,10	
2015	97.822	35.859	4.580	1.945	26	10.735	1.941	11.076	424	1.961	849	2.422	683	734	314	2.726	5.769	404	3.278	969	1.577	1.107	570	53	181	5.053	649	438	891	
In Prozent:	100,00	36,66	4,68	1,99	0,03	10,97	1,98	11,34	0,43	2,00	0,87	2,48	0,71	0,75	0,32	2,79	5,89	0,41	3,35	0,99	1,51	1,13	0,58	0,05	0,20	5,17	0,66	0,45	0,91	

Appendix F: Overview Of The Initial Reception Facilities In The State Of Baden-Württemberg

Übersicht der Erstaufnahmeeinrichtungen im Land Baden-Württemberg
Stand: 01.10.2018

