INTERSECTIONS OF TOURISM, MIGRATION, AND EXILE

Edited by Natalia Bloch
Kathleen M. Adams

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Introduction: Ambivalent Belonging and Recognition on Return Visits

In the course of field research among Cuban migrants in Barcelona, I encountered various personal stories and anecdotes about return visits to Cuba.[2] A striking feature in many of these narratives was the value placed on being and behaving like an "ordinary" Cuban when visiting the island. Exemplifying their attunement to the "Cuban lifestyle," Cuban migrants I talked with – who had all left the country in the last thirty years and mostly in the last decade – highlighted their return to simpler routines and behavioral and consumption patterns, in terms of accommodation, food, transportation, dress code, and the rhythm and pace of life more generally. Forget one's mobile phone, forget about checking emails and Facebook daily – via these conversational observations, they presented selves that knew and appreciated what it was to live in Cuba as Cubans. Regularly, such portrayals were contrasted with the attitudes of "other" returning Cuban visitors said to be less sensitive to the Cuban reality and to flaunt their newly acquired foreign tastes and superior socio-economic statuses, a recurrent target being "ostentatious" Cuban Americans coming from the United States. In tension with these narratives, however, were anecdotes by the very same research participants on the differential treatment they regularly received back in Cuba, as "Cubans living abroad" (*los cubanos que viven en el extranjero*). These could be stories of "interested" (*interesados*) kin, friends, and acquaintances that only sought to draw money from the "rich Cuban from abroad," scheming, deceiving, and treating them as they would any other foreign tourist. Such narratives of concrete interactions and events during the migrants' visits spoke of challenges of recognition and belonging.

As convincingly argued by Kathleen M. Adams (2021) and Natalia Bloch and Adams (this volume), much can be gained from exploring the intersecting terrain

of forms of contemporary spatial mobility and from problematizing seemingly fixed boundaries separating tourism, migration, and exile. The drive to categorize and typify, particularly visible in policy discourses and interventions, forecloses the emergence of a range of important questions I wish to address in this chapter. When is one "tourist," "migrant," and "Cuban"? Who is ascribing, endorsing, and assuming such designations? What do these identifications, and the experience of them, evoke, entail, enable, and constrain? Looking at the purposeful emergence of such identifications, I explore the shifting qualities, expectations, and demands associated with them. My broader aim is to contribute to a reflection on when, why, and how these categorizations come to matter, how they bring about or hamper certain modes of being and becoming, as well as the possibility of negotiating, resisting, and overcoming them. My attention is drawn to these issues because they mattered and preoccupied my research participants and came repeatedly to the fore during their visits home and in the ways such visits were experienced and narrated. Accordingly, my attention is as much on the very emergence of belonging and identifications as matters of concern, as it is on unpacking their concrete forms, contents, and effects (these aspects being obviously related).

Belonging has been the object of significant theorization in the social sciences (e.g., Yuval-Davis, 2006; Geschiere, 2009; Candea, 2010; Zigon, 2019). According to Peter Geschiere (2009, drawing on Tania Li, 2000), we may be living in a "global conjuncture of belonging," one characterized by the converging trend, across the world, of "turning *belonging* into a pressing issue" (Geschiere, 2009, p. 6, emphasis in original). Rather than dismissing such concerns with origins, culture, identity, and authenticity as spurious and analytically sterile, it becomes important to understand why and how they emerge, and what they generate. It is time we move beyond interpretations of identity claims as "distress-driven attempts to impose order on an increasingly chaotic world," as Renée Sylvain (2005, p. 355) observes. His critique of reductive and essentialist psychological readings helps de-naturalize the significance of people's concerns with issues pertaining to identity and belonging. Recent studies of indigenous claims and struggles, for instance, draw attention to related politics of recognition, rights, and the securing of resources (see Hodgson, 2002).

Lately, the issue of belonging has been addressed in relation to travel and tourism (see Leite, 2017; Meiu, 2020). Elsewhere (Simoni, 2015) I explored some of its expressions in intimate relations in Cuban tourism and migration, showing how belonging became a matter of concern when intimate relations transgressed established social boundaries (Stoler, 1989), raising doubts about loyalties and the fulfillment of obligations. Scholars addressing the intersections of travel, tourism, and migration have shown how some encounters act as "identity sirens" (Adams, 2019, pp. 163–164), whereby visits to homelands lead migrants to "shift, challenge, or reaffirm sensibilities about their own identities" (p. 152, see also Bidet and Wagner, 2012). In the Cuban visits considered here, it is also clear that the experience and assessment of relations with family, friends, and the country more generally lead returnees to rethink and rearticulate the parameters of their "being Cuban" and what it means to be "Cuban," "migrant," "tourist."

The ethnographic material on which I draw in this chapter comes from 20 months of fieldwork conducted between 2005 and 2020 in Cuba, in Havana, the rural town of Viñales (located 200 km west of the capital), and the beach resort of Santa Maria (30 minutes east of Havana), as well as from four months of research in Barcelona, Spain, since 2012. In all these settings, I engaged mainly with middle-aged Cuban men, who are the main protagonists of the examples in this chapter. Within the ample body of scholarship on Cuban migration and diasporic formations (see, for instance, the contributions in O'Reilly Herrera, 2007), Susan Eckstein (2009), Mette Louise Berg (2011), and Catherine Krull and Jean Stubbs (2018a, 2018b) have pertinently highlighted the heterogeneity of Cuba's diaspora. Eckstein and Berg's (2009) notion of "diasporic generation" thus differentiates the more recent generation of "migrants" from the first wave of Cuban emigrees known as "exiles," who, following the 1959 Revolution led by Fidel Castro, left the country (between the early 1960s until about 1980). Berg and Eckstein also signal a shift from a political to an economically driven migra-tion, starting with the 1990s crisis that struck Cuba after the collapse of the Soviet Union. My research participants fit the "migrant" generation identified by Berg (2011) for Spain, their migration dating from the mid-1990s onward, being rela-tively diverse in terms of class and racial background, and approximating that of other Latin American "economic migrants," with stronger ties and more frequent visits to family back in Cuba. While the majority of Cuban migrants returning for visits to Cuba come from the United States (Espino, 2013), where the bulk of the Cuban diaspora resides, the ethnographic material presented here refers primarily to return visits by Cubans residing in Europe, notably in Spain.[3]

Awkward Arrivals and the Salience of Belonging

When recounting their latest visit to Cuba, the Cuban migrants I met in Barcelona often featured the initial moments of landing in the country. At the airport, the first awkward encounters with fellow nationals involved the immigration officials screening them and their luggage. These were tense moments for most Cubans I spoke to, as migrants regularly carried gifts for relatives and friends, which could be inspected by airport agents. Legally, no matter how many years they had been living abroad and despite other nationalities acquired, every Cuban citizen is required to present their Cuban passport upon entry, and, during their stay, is officially treated as a Cuban by the authorities, marking a legal difference in status from foreign tourists. On his last visit to Cuba, Nando, a young Cuban man who lived for a decade in Spain, was confronted by a customs officer who discovered he was carrying two mobile phones when he was only allowed to bring in one. The officer intimated he should pay a costly import tax if he wanted to bring in his second phone, and Nando flew off the handle. Unwilling to pay or to leave the phone with the officer, he smashed it on the floor, determined "not to leave them anything." Better destroy it, Nando said, rather than giving "them" the pleasure of keeping his phone.

Nando recounted this story with his usual flair and passion, finding complicit ears in the other Cubans listening to him that night, in a Cuban bar in Barcelona. His narrative kick-started a wave of complaints about Cuban officers and, more generally, how the country treated people like them, who simply wanted to visit and help those left behind. These were stories of envious locals, of discrimination and bad treatment that started at the airport and continued in bars, restaurants, and other service locales during the stay. Tragicomic airport stories kept our circle of bar companions busy for much of the evening, with several of Nando's friends complaining of being detained at customs for hours while officers checked their luggage, even as these same officers welcomed foreign tourists with broad smiles ushering them through customs in seconds. People commented on the officers' palpable and almost obscene envy, clearly visible in their spiteful and intense assessing gazes. "And if you complain or make a scandal, they keep you there for hours, or they send you back where you came from," someone commented. Most agreed that it was better to keep a low profile, the advice being not to take issue with any of it (*no coger lucha*). Ramona, a Cuban woman in her 40s who had been living in Europe for over 20 years, went as far as to say that when traveling back to Cuba she "left her brain" in Spain, so as not to get upset by the incongruities one must face.

In discussing the mishaps of arriving back in Cuba, several migrants pondered the differential treatment that awaited Cuban returnees on the one hand and foreign tourists on the other, while both were allegedly there on holidays. "You are less than a tourist, and less than a Cuban," summed up Nando. His reasoning implied that being "a Cuban who lives abroad" back on holidays, generated an amount of envy and frustration that did not apply to foreign tourists visiting the country. The problem seemed to lie in the fact of being so similar, and yet different, slight disjunctures (as opposed to incommensurable disparities) making comparison and moral evaluation all the more obvious and immediate (Trémon, 2018, p. 159). "Here [in Spain] you are a migrant, there the one who lives abroad: you are neither here nor there and are left in the middle of the sea . . . , " concluded one of the Cuban men conversing with Nando. Issues of identity and belonging were clearly brought to the fore and with them the idea that it was hard to find one's place both in the destination and in the country of origin, which misrecognized you not only as an "ordinary" Cuban but also as a "tourist." This sense of misrecognition did not stop at the airport. For many, it continued in even more unsettling ways in relations with friends and family, as the following sections illustrate.

Celebrating Return and Enacting Cuban-Ness

In the summer of 2015, Rolando, a Cuban man in his early 40s whom I first met in 2005 in Viñales, before he migrated to France, was back for a visit with his French wife Amelie and their two children. Before coming to Viñales, they had enjoyed a couple of weeks traveling around the island, staying in all-inclusive resorts, and visiting other areas of Cuba. This was presented as a sort of holiday within the larger visit to Cuba. In the writings of Jennifer Bidet and Lauren Wagner (2012),

Francesca Sirna (2015), Sabine Marschall (2017), and Adams (2019, 2021) we find insightful examples and reflections on the possible combinations, complementarities, simultaneities, and/or compartmentalization of family visits with tourist activities. In the case presented here, what seemed to prevail was a certain separation between foreign-like tourist-modes and Cuban family-visit-modes, with different identifications, subjectivities, and assertions of belonging coming to the fore at different moments. Rolando could get away with being like a foreign tourist in the all-inclusive resorts far from his hometown but felt compelled to align with a more Cuban-non-tourist self – or Cuban-migrant self – when back in the village.

According to Amelie, in the first part of their holiday, Rolando's way of being and relating to her and the children had been more in tune with his behavior back in France, albeit in a tourist mode and context. By way of contrast, she observed that once they got to his hometown and started engaging with their extended family and friends, Rolando's behavior changed in many ways. As she phrased it, he become more of the typical "Cuban macho" character. The tender father who had spent time playing with and caring for the children and "doing family" before getting to Viñales now transformed into the bachelor he had once been, a young man who let his mother and wife tend to the house and children, while he hung out with friends, dwelling in forms of sociability that he celebrated as "typically Cuban," exemplified by easy-going-ness, "hotness" (Simoni, 2013), and a vibrant engagement with music, dancing, drinking, and partying. "When we get here, he becomes like a kid, like when I first met him ten years ago!," said Amelie.[4] But Rolando's wife also expressed her empathy, telling me that she was willing to let him play the "Cuban macho," given how much he must miss his country and his people when in Europe, including his former ways of being and socializing. After all, this was just for the duration of the holiday, and he would soon return to his more "European self" once they were home in France.

Quite revealing of Rolando's duality was that toward the end of their month-long stay on the island, he started complaining that he was tiring of the holiday (which I understood to mean the "family visit" part of it) and that much like the rest of his nuclear family, he too was longing to get back to Europe and his routines there, even if that meant work. What is more, he was not looking forward to returning to Cuba for the next few years. Tired of partying and entertaining people all day, such visits back to Viñales also cost him a fortune. Rolando reasoned that he could help his family better by not returning to Cuba, saving money, and sending it as remittances instead. His absence would thus be more helpful than his presence. This was so also because Rolando accepted his privileged status as a returning migrant and his ensuing obligations toward friends and family. He did not want to disappoint their expectations and wished to be generous with people. On my repeated visits to Viñales after that summer, despite Rolando not having returned for years, people spoke highly of him, as someone loyal to relationships with his loved ones in Cuba.

It is interesting to compare Rolando's case with that of other Cubans who were also back in town from Europe but did not indulge in celebrations and festivities

as expected. Their restrained behavior could be judged negatively, interpreted as a sign of lost Cuban-ness, and relinquished allegiance to former ways of being. "He is more French than Cuban" was the criticism leveled at Pedro, a Cuban man who was back on a visit with his French wife and three children and who was rarely seen out at night in local bars and clubs. Pedro and his wife were deemed "boring" for their lack of enthusiasm in partaking in the local festive scene, and this became grounds for questioning his Cuban-ness altogether. As Pedro explained to me in French, he had come back to Cuba after four years of absence and spent most of his days with his mother and visiting a range of relatives, carefully allocating his visits and presents so as not to make anyone jealous. After about three weeks on the island, he was tiring of these routines and found more and more things to complain about – he mentioned the festive excesses, the poor service, people's lack of civility, and disregard for the environment. Pedro was eager to return to France, where he felt more comfortable and attuned to everyday realities and behaviors. His return visit seemed to have reinforced "a sense of belonging to the host country," as observed by Marschall (2017, p. 19) for other returnees, resulting in "further estrangement" and the realization of how much not only one's "old country" but also oneself has changed.

Generosity, Instrumentality, and Opening Up Belonging

Generosity was expected of returnees, particularly during festivities such as those described for Rolando earlier, who in his nights out was always seen inviting people over to his table and offering high-quality rum, beer, soft drinks, snacks, and the like. At stake was the image of someone who had achieved something in life, who had migrated and become wealthier, but who had not forgotten his origins and loyalties, and was willing to redistribute his riches, first among relatives, then among close friends, and finally with lesser friends and acquaintances. The extent of gifts and invitations proffered served to signal social closeness and the degree of intimacy, becoming a powerful index of the strength of the relation at stake (see Zelizer, 2005). The returnees' discernment and sensitivity could help avoid raising feelings of jealousy and discrimination, and included keeping an eye on how relatives, friends, and acquaintances laid claim to, and showed gratitude for, the goods they offered. Occasionally, the Cubans visiting could feel they were being "taken for a ride" and instrumentalized by residents eager to capitalize on their economic resources, much like foreign tourist victims of "*jineterismo*" (Simoni, 2016a), the Cuban notion commonly referring to the "riding" of tourists for instrumental purposes.

This was the scenario evoked in a Barcelona conversation with Gustavo, a Cuban migrant in his 60s who recounted his sexual adventure with two young Cuban women in a Havana hotel, on one of his latest visits to the island. Gustavo had started playing the tourist, addressing the two women in English, banking on the widespread interest in engaging foreign visitors in tourist areas of Havana. Taking on the role of the tourist and hinting that he had hard currency to spend was,

for him, a way to seduce the women. After having sex with them, so the story went, Gustavo fell asleep (which he suspected was induced by their having spiked his drink with sleeping pills), and the two women stole all his valuables – money, clothes, shoes, and so on. His narrative, tainted with humor and self-mockery at his tourist-like naïveté, resonated with other stories I had heard of relationships between foreign visitors and *jineteros/-as*, and placed the issue of exploitative forms of intimacy squarely on the table. "Never again!" was the lesson Gustavo drew from this experience: Never again play it like a naïve tourist. In contrast with Gustavo's own prior exploits as a tourist hustler and *jinetero* in the Cuba of the early 1990s, his story highlighted tourism hustling in which he had become the tourist-like victim. This commoditized form of intimacy pushed him to the other side of the Us–Cubans/Them–tourists cleavage so present in Cuba (Simoni, 2015, 2016a).

"People there think they are the smarter ones," Nando told me one evening, referring to the Cubans he had met on his last trip to the island. "They see you as a Euro with legs, as a walking dollar" – another expression I heard repeatedly from tourists in Cuba. The tales of envy, interest, and greed corrupting relationships were entwined with returning to the island as Cubans who lived abroad. They featured unscrupulous friends who, rather than caring for sentiments, showed an interest only in what the migrant could bring economically – the quintessential *amistad interesada* as opposed to true and sincere friendship (Simoni, 2014). What Cuban returnees resented in their engagements with old friends and acquaintances was being "condemned to be a tourist," to borrow on Constance De Gourcy (2010, p. 353), and being exploited as such. More subtly, I would say that people could desire some of the advantages that came with being a tourist (status, privilege) but not its downsides (dupe and gullible). Pushing the reflection further along an existential approach, the impression was that what returnees valued in the "tourist" persona was its promise of "freedom," of opening up unconstrained possibilities for being and becoming, avoiding feeling trapped as "the Cuban who lives abroad," with all the expectations and obligations that came with it.[5]

The more fundamental existential demand, it seems to me, was for the possibility of being, dwelling, and relating not just as one type, member, and representative of a specific group. Uncovering such an existential dimension, I find it useful to draw on Jarrett Zigon's (2018, 2019) recent reflections on "disclosive freedom" (2019, pp. 100–131) as "an openness to possibilities . . . free of the impositions and control of categories and normalization" (2019, p. 105). Criticizing the closed, totalizing, and exclusionary biases intrinsic to "late-liberal politics of identity-focused difference and recognition" (2019, p. 95), Zigon calls for a decentering of approaches to belonging. From identity and the need to identify with one group or another, to possess one quality or another, we move to an emphasis on "*belonging itself*" as the "existential imperative to dwell in openness" (2019, p. 96, emphasis in original), with the notion of "dwelling," and of an "ethics of dwelling," contrasted to the feeling of "being trapped in a world" (Zigon, 2018, p. 119).

This could well be what my research participants aspired to – to dwell in openness and not to feel overly constrained and trapped by one identification. But the

expectations weighing on them tended to push belonging-as-identity to the fore, and with it, the need to clarify, assume, and stand by one's positioning, qualities, and loyalties, most notably one's loyalty to those that were receiving them in Cuba. Assuming one's privileged status – as "Cuban from abroad" – meant "handling distributive claims" (Wig, 2020, p. 98, drawing on Ferguson, 2015), fulfilling obligations, and providing the generous kind of care and support that was expected. Revealed here is a tension between different aspects and approaches to belonging: One informed by an ethics of dwelling that eschews the trapping of totalizing identifications – be it "tourist," "migrant," and "Cuban," and their hyphenated combinations – and the other, more identity and loyalty driven, putting emphasis instead on normative expectation and obligation as a privileged member of a certain group.

Downscaling Family, Reshaping Social Life, Redefining Cuban-Ness

In the Cuban cases I explore, the returnees' ties to their families, and the care and responsibilities these ties necessitated, tended to work as a key measure of people's worth, of the fact that they had not forgotten the fundamental duties and obligations that linked them to Cuba (Simoni and Voirol, 2021). Belonging, we may argue following George Paul Meiu (2020), was signified here perhaps less by an "immutable identity," than by "sustaining ties" and "demonstrating one's commitment to local kinship and custom" (2020, p. 10). What such local kinship and custom amounted to, however, was also the subject of debate and dispute, leading my research participants to work over the very contour, meaning, and value of "family" (cf. Olwig, 2012; Adams, 2019). If relationships with one's mother and offspring tended to be left unscathed by such reassessment of who and what counted as family, other kin ties seemed more likely to be weakened, up to the points of estrangement and exclusion.[6] My conversations with Cuban migrants suggested a growing skepticism and scaling down of allegiances and solidarities, in relation not only to one's extended family but also to people in Cuba and the country more broadly.[7] These findings seem to support Geschiere's (2009, p. 27) diagnosis of discourses of belonging as easily lending themselves to fragmentation, purification, and the related unmasking of "fake" members – in the examples I will now consider, the exposing and the exclusion of less deserving, "unproper" kin.

Naomi, a Cuban woman in her 40s I first met in Santa Maria in the summer of 2016, had been living in France for about 20 years but prided herself on coming to Cuba twice a year, each time for at least one month. Having bought a house for her mother several years earlier, she had only recently acquired a new property just for her, as she put it. After so much sacrifice done for her family, she argued, time had come to focus on herself. She had deliberately chosen a secluded place for her new house, as an attempt to escape the poor Havana neighborhood where she had been reared. Naomi did not want people to visit her daily and resented those who visited just to request favors and money. This included her extended

family, who had given her ample proof of what they were "really" after: gifts and favors. Jealousy, envy, and "fake smiles" of hypocrisy were all they were able to express, she maintained, and now that she had stopped bringing gifts and visiting, they saw her as "*la mala*," the "bad one" – the wicked relative who had forgotten about her family. But Naomi had by now got over such condemnations, or so she claimed. She was focusing on enjoying and making the most of her time in Cuba, relaxing, partying, and frequenting the "high life" places of tourism and *la farandula* (a local notion evoking "the scene" frequented by celebrities, foreigners, and the "it" people of Cuba).

While evoking a radical reorientation of her social circle and the places she frequented, Naomi also liked to emphasize the fact that, unlike other Cuban migrants, she remained "100% Cuban" in her ways of doing and being in Cuba. The Cubanness she liked to embody was in many ways similar to that enacted by Rolando in Viñales (gendered differences notwithstanding), made of much socializing, partying, drinking, and dancing, and a "typically Cuban" upbeat and euphoric mood. This, it seemed to me, was Naomi's way of dwelling in the aspects of the Cuba she liked while rejecting the more unpleasant encounters with old friends and relatives who only brought her "*problemas*" and never-ending requests. Naomi's predilection was for spending time with people who shared her privileged conditions, namely, foreigners and Cubans who knew what life abroad was like and understood the value of a hard-earned holiday in Cuba.

One night in Barcelona, Nando told us that what was emerging in Cuba was something akin to a new social class: "the Cubans living abroad" (*los cubanos que viven en el extranjero*). When I reported this to Alfredo, another Cuban man who had arrived in Barcelona a couple of years earlier, he very much agreed. When traveling back to Cuba, Cubans like him felt more in tune with others who had experienced that same trajectory. There was a deeply felt commonality, a sense of familiarity and intimacy among those who had traveled, which made it easier to dwell, share, and connect. Another Cuban social formation, which drew together a loose category of transnational subjects – "*los que han viajado*" (those who have traveled) – seemed to be taking shape in Alfredo's reasoning. The experiences and reflections of Nando, Alfredo, and Naomi may offer glimpses of a process of social fragmentation and differentiation. What becomes worth tracing is the shape and content that such differential social formations may take and the way they work toward recalibrating notions of Cuban-ness and belonging.[8]

In reformulating their sense of belonging, returnees like Naomi were at the same time pushing for their own vision of Cuba. We may thus argue that if the migratory experience leads migrants to reimagine the country they left behind, these practices of return contribute to further transforming the homeland and negotiating one's place in it. This was illustrated in the case of Naomi, who refashioned her Cuban-ness and her social milieus and reflected on what aspects of the Cuba she knew deserved to be experienced and cultivated. Future research on returnees' and residents' mutual assessments and the ways in which they confront each other's desires, expectations, and delineations of belonging may help map

how different versions and aspects of Cuba and Cuban-ness interact, inform, and respond to one another, enabling us also to ascertain their relative ascendancy or decline. The Cuba favored by Naomi, the social spaces she liked to frequent, and the atmospheres she liked to dwell in seemed to closely approximate what was sought by foreign tourists, with the inflection of her quintessential insider status, that of a "100% Cuban," a non-gullible virtuoso of the *dos* and *don'ts* for enjoying her island. This valued image of herself and her place in Cuba, however, was challenged when meeting other residents, old friends and acquaintances, and her extended family members, who kept reminding her of her difference and privilege, encapsulated by her status as a Cuban living abroad, and the ensuing obligations that fell upon her, including the obligation to share and distribute her resources.

Conclusion: Sticky Identifications and the Demands of Belonging

The research participants whose stories and experiences of return visits to Cuba were presented in this chapter could be seen as aspiring to a sort of holographic persona embodying the best of different worlds and qualities. Rather than a hybrid in-between, we might see this as the ideal of a composite virtuous person who is able to distill and embody valued qualities of the worlds he or she has come to live in. A person who has not forgotten where he or she comes from and is allegedly competent in the best that Cuba and being a Cuban has to offer, but who has also taken stock of what is deemed better elsewhere, and likes to explore the possibilities to be otherwise stemming from it. Analyzing the returns of Filipina domestic workers from Hong Kong, Nicole Constable has reflected on "the ambivalence of not belonging, and the plural vision that might result from diasporic experiences" (1999, p. 208). Such "plural vision," a notion developed by Edward Said (1984), "can be both alienating and inspiring, a source of aware-ness and dissatisfaction, and a source of pleasure and apprehension" (Constable, 1999, p. 224). "In circumstances of change and mobility," continues Constable, "plural vision no longer permits the self the illusion of a unified, bounded, or coherent whole" (1999, p. 224). This was certainly suggested in the complex and oftentimes paradoxical narratives of belonging explored in this chapter.

The demands of belonging, in terms of calls to assume a clear-cut identification and satisfy the expectations and obligations that could ensue, were frequently felt as constraining by my research participants. Whether they took on the role of "tourist," or "migrant" returning home, there could be a reluctance to fully embrace such identifications. Mostly, it seems to me that they were gesturing toward some of the positive aspects that such identifications evoked – such as having been successful abroad or being able to enjoy holidays and celebrate in style back home – while retaining a certain openness and avoiding feeling trapped in them. But this sort of open-ended dwelling, which we could approximate to Zigon's reference to "belonging itself" (2019, p. 96), of lifting weight from issues of identification and categorization to foreground something more akin to a "disclosive freedom"

(Zigon, 2019, pp. 100–131), could easily encounter the resistance of Cuban residents interacting with the returnees. Such resistance, I believe, reveals the manifold and profound emotional, moral, and pragmatic implications that such identifications carry, if not for Cubans returning for a visit, then for those who received them, and for whom being a "tourist," a "migrant," and simultaneously a "Cuban" became a clear marker of status, generative of specific expectations.

We may recall here Hodgson (2002), Sylvain (2005), and Geschiere (2009) reflections on how belonging becomes entangled in politics of recognition and the securing of resources. Given the structural inequalities existing between the retuning migrants and those receiving them (and not unlike those with foreign tourists), Cuban residents could find it legitimate and only normal to call on these temporary visitors to fully assume their privileges, and relate accordingly, beyond any pretenses of being equal. Just as foreign tourists could be prescribed to be generous and share their wealth with disadvantaged Cuban residents (see Simoni, 2016a), so Cubans coming from abroad could be incited to act according to their difference in status. If you wanted to be a successful migrant or a free and leisure-prone tourist, you had to assume the responsibilities that came with it and could not only pick and choose which aspects to retain and which to discard. Such could be the demand at stake, which bolstered the reference to status, identity, and the more totalizing dimensions of belonging, calling for consistency and closure. The "identity-slots" returnees were called to inhabit came with their own expectations, obligations, and indications on how best to fulfill them.[9]

What Cubans on return visits were facing, we may argue, was a call to stay loyal to relationships with and commitments toward, friends, kin, and Cuban people at large. In specifying the terms of what such loyalty implied, and the obligations it included, assumption on what being "tourist," "migrant," and "Cuban" meant featured heavily and were recurrently worked over. This is a testimony of the enduring salience and power of such identifications while also underscoring the importance of anchoring them in the local histories and relational contexts that color their meaning and explain their relevance and value. Rather than dismissing such identifications, predefining their meanings and functions in a priori typologies, or calling for the analytical deconstruction of their distinctiveness, we should remain attentive to their situated and purposeful deployments. We will thus gain further insights into when and how these categorizations come to matter, what kind of relationships, moral obligations, and processes of self- and group-formation they are generative of, and the ways they constrain and/or enable certain modes of being and becoming. We will also gain insights into the possibility, eventually, of escaping and surpassing them. But here again, and beyond supporting the open-endedness and sense of freedom that may result from transcending these categories and identifications, we also ought to ask why are they so resilient, sticky, and tenacious. Part of the answer in the case explored here lies in the highly unequal positions, dependencies, and calls for sharing and solidarity across a North–South divide in which such identifications became entangled and which helped explain their moral weight and force.

Notes

1 The chapter revisits and expands on my previous article: Simoni, V. (2019a) «Appartenances et identifications à l'épreuve. Migrants en visite de retour à Cuba, » *ethnographiques.org*, 37, Revenir. Quêtes, enquêtes et retrouvailles, www.ethnographiques.org/2019/Simoni. My thanks go to *Ethnographiques.org* for permissions. Earlier versions of the text benefitted greatly from reviews and feedback of Michaël Busset, Anne-Christine Trémon, Paola Mota Santos, Jean Stubbs, Constance de Gourcy, and Grégoire Mayor. I am extremely grateful to Kathleen M. Adams and Natalia Bloch for their insightful comments and suggestions on the more recent versions of the chapter. The research relied on the generous collaboration of research participants in Spain and Cuba, to whom I extend my deepest gratitude. I thank the Instituto Cubano de Antropología (ICAN) for providing assistance and institutional affiliation during research in Cuba. Funding was received from the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT Post-Doctoral Grant SFRH/BPD/66483/2009), the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF *Ambizione* Fellowship, PZ00P1 147946), and the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (grant agreement No 759649), which supported my research during the periods 2010–2014 (FCT), 2014–2017 (SNSF), and since 2018 (ERC). Any shortcomings are my own, and sponsoring agencies are not responsible for any use that may be made of the information presented here.

2 All the data and conversation excerpts presented here are based on recollection after the events occurred and were translated into English by the author. Personal names and some details in the examples presented were altered to protect the anonymity of research participants.

3 Albeit accurate numbers for return visits are hard to estimate (Espino, 2013), José Luis Perelló Cabrera (2016) calculates that in 2015, almost 400,000 Cuban migrants returned for a visit, of which about three-quarters were Cuban Americans and one-quarter Cubans residing in other countries. Current studies of Cuban migration also reflect on significant changes in both migratory legislation and Cubans' mobility patterns and how these intersect with further openings of the Cuban government to private enterprise and business endeavors (see Martín Fernandez and Barcenas, 2015; Aja Díaz et al., 2017; Krull and Stubbs, 2018a, 2018b; Bastian, 2018; Simoni, 2019b).

4 For an insightful parallel, see Robert Smith's (2005, pp. 120–146) analysis of return visits by Mexican migrants living in New York and the way such visits entail the negotiation of one's "true mexicanidad" (2005, p. 139), leading to specific co-constructions of ethnicity and gender, and similar suspensions and temporal renegotiation of established family roles.

5 From Nelson Graburn (1983) seminal work on tourism's potential for re-creation and self-creation, to Andrew Causey conceptualization of "utopic space" as the space tourism offers for people to "explore possible ways of being . . . between reality and unrealizable desires" (2003, p. 167), anthropologists have shed light on the utopian dimension in "tourist" ideals, enactments, and forms of relationality (see Simoni, 2016a, 2016b).

6 See Helen Safa (2005) and Heidi Härkonen (2015) for insightful reflections on the enduring importance of matrifocal notions of kinship and family duty in Cuba.

7 Such scaling down is also suggested in Berg's research with Cuban migrants in Spain, who "felt loyal to their families with whom they shared economic hardship and changes, but not to the nation" (2011, p. 153).

8 Krull and Stubbs have drawn on the work of pioneer Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz (1964, cited in Krull and Stubbs, 2018a, p. 189) to reflect on current changes and pluralizations, beyond "the dominant United States-Cuba axis," in notions of "*cubanidad*" – "the quality of that which is Cuban" and "condition of belonging to Cuba" – and "*cubanía*" – "the consciousness of being Cuban and the will to want to be it." This chapter supports such pluralization, highlighting the struggles, negotiations, and competing

views of *cubanidad* and belonging that are born out of encounters between returnee visitors and the people and realities they re-encountered back in Cuba.

9 It is useful to recall here Harri Englund's (2006) critique of approaches placing excessive analytical emphasis on ethical self-formation and self-fulfillment – as exemplified by my research participants' demands to be left in peace, to dwell in the Cuba they liked, the way they liked, with whom they liked, and being who they liked – when such focus leads to insist too much on independence, to assume equal statuses and starting points, and to turn "a deaf ear to demands . . . for a connection or relationship with the affluent world (Ferguson, 2006, p. 22)" (Englund, 2008, p. 36). Englund's call is for a renewed attention to moral obligations and human conditions of dependence, including relations of "deliberate dependencies" and "morally binding pledge[s] to stay loyal to the relationship" (2006, p. 189, cf. Ferguson, 2015, and Wig, 2020). An element that would deserve more attention than I could devote in this chapter is the gendered dimension of such dependencies, as well as their inscription in life stages and generational differences. As hinted by Naomi's story, it was only after she had fulfilled her obligations and secured all the material comforts her mother needed, that she started prioritizing her independence and self-fulfillment.

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